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THE
JOURNEYS AND EPISTLES
OF THE
APOSTLE PAUL.



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ON THE
JOURNEYS AND EPISTLES
OF THE
APOSTLE PAUL.

BY
SAMUEL SHARPE,
AUTHOR OF "THE HISTORY OF EGYPT."

SECOND EDITION, ENLARGED.



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P R E F A C E .

THE following pages have been printed because the Author thinks that the usual opinion about the order in which Paul's Epistles were written is erroneous. From the order in which they are placed in the more popular Lives of St. Paul, critics have found a disagreement in the mention of some of the principal events, when compared with the Acts of the Apostles; and they have thus thrown doubts upon the genuineness of some of the Epistles, and grave charges against the trustworthiness of Acts, even when the writer is stating facts within his own knowledge.

As we have this double source for knowledge of the Apostle's life, his own writings and the Acts of the Apostles, both of them full of particulars about his own movements and the movements of his fellow-labourers, it has long been a natural wish among inquirers to see how far the two accounts agree, or whether they disagree, and thus to test the genuineness of both. Books have been written on both sides, some of which an inquiring student would naturally like to consult. Of these it will be enough to speak of two, which seem the most important; one seeing no disagreement and accepting the whole of these writings as genuine and authentic; and the other finding numerous disagreements and contradictions, and from them denying the trustworthiness of Acts as a history, and the authenticity of several of the Epistles.

"The Life and Epistles of St. Paul," by Conybeare and Howson, is a biography, full of useful historical

information, drawn from all sources, relating to the times when Paul lived, to the political state of the Roman empire and Judea, and the condition of the Jews under their Roman masters, with accounts of the countries through which the Apostle travelled. It is not wholly founded on the Acts, but woven out of the two sources. The authors may have felt unable to follow the Book of Acts strictly, and then to put each Epistle into its proper place, without leaving many difficulties unexplained. Moreover, it was not their aim to find contradictions, but rather to find an agreement, and to make a book which should be useful to the reader. In this latter aim they have been very successful; but it by no means removes those difficulties and disagreements which keener critics have discovered.

The other work is "Paul, his Life and his Works," a contribution to a critical history of primitive Christianity, by F. C. Baur. This is a very different work from the former. It is not a biography. It makes very little use of the Acts of the Apostles while attempting to put the Epistles into chronological order; making, however, a rough examination of those passages in the Epistles and Acts which should harmonize together, but which appear to disagree. The criticism as to the Epistles is mainly based on the religious and philosophical opinions in each; Baur would have stood upon safer ground if he had relied more on their biographical contents, in which they are so rich; and had considered the Apostle's opinions after he had settled the order of the Epistles. The results at which Baur arrives are, that the Book of Acts is a very untrustworthy history, and that four only of Paul's Epistles can be accepted as genuine, Romans, Galatians, and the two Corinthians.

Baur's treatment of the subject is by no means that of an impartial inquirer, far less so than that of the two other authors. A better way is to begin by examining carefully how far the seeming contradictions are real, or whether they are in any cases caused by *mistranslations*, or other misunderstanding of passages. *But Baur has by no means gone this way to work. He*

accepts the usual arrangement and translation, and then he points out very successfully how the writings hopelessly contradict one another throughout. If we might take Conybeare and Howson's work as a defence of the Epistles and Acts, and could suppose that Baur had written his work in answer to it, we could not but acknowledge that he had seriously weakened the defence.

In order to show that a further consideration of the Apostle's life is needed, it will be enough to give one example of how widely the two classes of critics differ. Paley, in his well-known "*Horæ Paulinæ*," quotes Acts xvii. xviii., relating how Silas and Timothy came to Paul at Corinth from Thessalonica and Beræa, as being in perfect agreement with 1 Thess. iii. 1-7, where Paul says that Timothy rejoined him at some unmentioned place from Thessalonica. Conybeare and Howson take the same view of these passages, and think Paul in his Epistle is speaking of Timothy coming to him at Corinth at that time with Silas. Baur also accepts this opinion, which fixes the date of the Epistle as written from Corinth at that time, when the Apostle had only lately come from Thessalonica, and the Thessalonians had only been converted to Christianity within a month or two. But then Baur reads also the rest of the Epistle, particularly chap. i., which clearly implies that the Thessalonians were not new converts; their Christian faith had long been known, and talked of widely; and they had been known to Paul so long that he was glad that they had not forgotten him. Baur then argues that it is impossible that the Apostle should have so written, and he puts aside the Epistle as a clumsy forgery. He does not inquire whether a wrong date may not have been the cause of the apparent contradictions, for on that head he is willing to trust to the judgment of those critics against whom he is writing.

But we need not leave the case in the hands of either of these, whether defenders or opponents. The Author believes that the contradictions which Baur and others have pointed out may be very much, if not wholly removed, a better understanding of the Epistles arrived at, and an agreement with Acts restored, by correcting

a few mistranslated passages, and then placing the Epistles in a better order. While doing this, the Author has made no attempt to describe the Apostle's noble character, or the character of the great work to which he devoted his life, or the theology of the Epistles, which have been the comfort and the religious food of millions and millions of readers. He has treated the Apostle's life as little more than a series of journeys; he has followed the Acts of the Apostles, and has added to that narrative the information of when in the course of Paul's travels each Epistle was written. For that purpose he has gathered out of the Epistles everything relating to Paul's movements and the movements of his friends, in order to learn in what part of his life each Epistle is to be placed, so that the agreement between the Epistles and the Book of Acts may be most satisfactory. This has made it necessary to add a slight abstract of each Epistle, only sufficient to show that the tone of it agrees with that part of the Apostle's life in which it is here placed. These pages are by no means offered as a commentary on the Epistles, except so far as the putting them in a right order is a necessary step to any such commentary.

Before, however, going to our main purpose, it will be best to consider first the passages which the Author thinks mistranslated and misarranged. They are the following:—

1st. In 1 Thess. iii. 5, the little word "also" has been dropped in the Authorized Version. Here the Apostle, after stating that, on being driven away from the Thessalonians by the riots, he had sent back Timothy to "establish and comfort" them about their faith, adds, "I also," that is, a second time, "sent to know your faith, whether the tempter have tempted you, and lest our labour should have been in vain." Thus we should place this Epistle not so early as when Timothy first rejoined Paul from Thessalonica, which was at Corinth (Acts xviii. 5), but six years later, after Paul had a second time sent Timothy into Macedonia (Acts xix. 22), and after Timothy had a second time rejoined *him*, which was at Philippi (Acts xx. 4).

2nd. In Galat. ii. 1, we read in the Authorized Version, "Then, fourteen years after, I again went up to Jerusalem." But we should read, "Then, in the course of fourteen years, I again went up to Jerusalem." Thus Paul puts no date to this second journey to Jerusalem, but rather puts a date to the Epistle; it was written within fourteen years after the visit to Jerusalem mentioned in chap. i. 18, that is, within seventeen years of his conversion.

Another passage, which needs a like correction in rendering the same preposition, is Acts xxiv. 17, where instead of "Now after many years I came to bring alms to my nation," we should read, "Now, during several years I came bringing alms." Paul says not that once, but that several times, he had brought alms to Jerusalem. So, for the sake of greater exactness, we had better say in Mark ii. 1, "in a few days," rather than "after some days;" though, as the time is indefinite, the meaning is the same in either case. The seven other places in the New Testament, where this preposition is followed by a noun of time in the genitive case, all support our proposed corrections.

3rd. In Acts xx. 4, the Authorized Version has, "And there accompanied him into Asia Sopater of Berea; and of the Thessalonians Aristarchus and Secundus; and Gaius of Derbe, and Timothy." This should not be "into Asia," but "as far as Asia;" and it certainly means "until he sailed for Asia." So "as far as Illyricum" in Romans xv. 19, means, "up to, but not entering Illyricum." Moreover, the order of the words has been here improperly changed; for it is only Sopatrus to whom the whole remark applies; and we should read, "And there went with him Sopatrus of Beræa as far as Asia." The others sailed either before him, or with him, into Asia, while the narrative means that Sopatrus turned back at Philippi. Some few MSS. omit the words "as far as Asia;" probably because the scribes did not understand them. It is in the highest degree improbable that any scribe should have invented such words as a proposed improvement; and therefore we must believe that they formed part of the original.

This very awkward passage admits also, though it does need, a further emendation, or conjectural explanation. According to a frequent use of the conjunction by this writer, the words will allow a semicolon after Gaius, leaving Gaius to be counted among the Thessalonians, and making Timothy a man of Derbe, agreeably to the history. See xix. 29, for Gaius being a Macedonian, and xvi. 1, for Timothy being probably a native of Derbe. There is, however, no difficulty to be removed, as there may have been two men of the name of Gaius among Paul's friends; but as in these pages we rest our argument for the truthfulness of these writings on their entire agreement in all their parts, no seeming difficulty must be left unmentioned. This Gaius of Thessalonica in Macedonia seems to have settled at Corinth (Rom. xvi. 23, and 1 Cor. i. 14).

4th. Another, and a more important change which we have to make, is not of translation. It consists in separating from the Epistle to the Romans the greetings to friends in chap. xvi. 1-20, and in finding a place for them elsewhere. When the Apostle reached Rome as a prisoner he found no friends there. These intimate friends belonged, not to Rome, but to some place where he had already passed some months, as, for example, Ephesus. And with these greetings we may also put apart chap. xii.-xv. 7, for other and less important reasons. These portions of Romans we shall speak of as The Fragments to Ephesus.

These corrections, as we venture to call them, are most important, as helping to remove difficulties and contradictions from the Epistles, and to make an agreement between the Epistles and Acts. These corrections, moreover, naturally lead to a more exact examination of other points; the removal of one difficulty helps towards the removal of a second; and in the end we find the undesigned coincidences which we meet with very remarkable and satisfactory. It may be as well perhaps here to state shortly some of the chief results which the Author has arrived at.

1st. By putting aside the greetings to friends out of the Epistle to the Romans, we then can place it

only on his first arrival at Corinth, before he had met with Aquilas and Priscilla, and before he had learnt that the Jews had been driven out of Rome by Claudius. We thus make it unnecessary to invent a second visit of Paul to Corinth, for him to write the Epistle at that city at a later time, and also to invent a return of Aquilas and Priscilla from Ephesus to Rome, for them to receive his greetings there, and again to invent their return to Ephesus to receive the greetings sent to them in 2 Tim. iv. 19.

2nd. By placing the Epistles to the Thessalonians later, and that to the Romans earlier, we find that the Apostle's change of purpose, as shown in these Epistles, agrees with what we should expect to find from the narrative in Acts. We are told in Acts that in every city that he entered he began by preaching in the synagogue, if there was one; and that in most cases he was driven out by the strong opposition of the Jews, from whom his life was often in danger. This leads us to think that after some years of such discouraging efforts, he is likely to have begun to think that there was little hope of his gaining the Jews to his opinions. And this change is what we find from the Epistles as here placed; in that to the Romans he aims at converting Jews; and, moreover, he says that the Gentiles are to be converted by means of the Jews; and in the First to the Thessalonians he acknowledges that the conversion of the Jews is not to be hoped for. In this matter the agreement between the Epistles and Acts is most satisfactory.

3rd. By placing the First to the Thessalonians six years later than is usually done, we also make it agree with itself. In chap. i. the Apostle praises the Thessalonians for their faith, saying, "Ye are become patterns to all the believers in Macedonia and Achaia; for from you hath been sounded out the word of the Lord, not only in Macedonia and Achaia, but in every place your faith towards God is gone forth." And again, in chap. iii. 6, he is glad that they "have good remembrance" of him "always." Now this is language which, as Baur remarks, could hardly have been used within a few months of their first conversion, and of his having left

them ; but is very natural when he heard news of them six years later.

4th. By remembering that the Romans had cut off the northern portion of the Peloponnesus from Greece, and made it into the Roman province of Achaia, of which Corinth was the capital, we learn that the words "Achaia," and "Hellas or Greece," may mean two different countries ; and that when we read in Acts xx. 2, that Paul went into Greece, we need not suppose that he went to Corinth, although it was said in Acts xix. 21, that he had intended to go into Achaia. This journey towards Corinth, without reaching that city, explains 2 Cor. i. 15-ii. 1, where he says that he had not paid them a second visit, although he had once intended to do so ; and it removes a difficulty from 2 Cor. xii. 14, where he says, "Behold, this third time I am ready to come to you." A second visit to Corinth would need a third journey.

5th. By simply changing the order of the two Epistles to Timothy, and placing the second at the end of his two years' imprisonment in Rome (Acts xxviii. 30), we make it unnecessary to invent a second imprisonment in Rome, and we gain three happy cases of agreement with Acts. In 2 Tim. iv. 13, we read, "The bag which I left at Troas with Carpus, when thou comest, bring ; and the books, especially the parchments." If we now turn to Acts xx. 13, we shall see that when Paul was at Troas, he sent his companions forward in the ship to Assos, meaning himself to go afoot. Nothing, therefore, is more probable than that he then found it inconvenient to take his luggage with him. It may perhaps have been forgotten when his companions went forward in the ship ; and he now begs Timothy to bring it to Rome.

Again, in 2 Tim. iv. 20, Paul says, "Trophimus I left at Miletus sick." Now Trophimus was with Paul in Jerusalem, when he was taken prisoner ; and when Paul sailed as a prisoner to Rome, Trophimus was quite as much at liberty to sail with him as Aristarchus, and *the Writer of Acts*, both of whom, as we know, did accompany him ; hence, when the ship in coasting Asia Minor

slowly with an unfavourable wind, had arrived off the promontory of Cnidus (Acts xxvii. 7), we can well believe that Trophimus was put on shore, and sent to Miletus, as being too sea-sick to continue the voyage.

This date for the Second Epistle to Timothy explains also why Tychicus was sent to Ephesus (2 Tim. iv. 12). He was sent as the bearer of the Epistle to the Ephesians (Eph. vi. 21), or that to the Colossians (Col. iv. 7).

The third case of happy agreement with Acts, arising from changing the order of the Epistles to Timothy, is that of Titus being left at Crete. The Epistle to Titus was evidently written shortly before the Second to Timothy, and therefore near the close of Paul's imprisonment in Rome. In that Epistle Paul mentions his leaving Titus on the island of Crete; and if we turn to Acts xxvii. 8, we see that the vessel, in which Paul had sailed two years before, did touch at Fair Havens in Crete. At that time he may have sent Titus on shore to establish the Churches on that island; for it was quite as much open for Titus to sail with him, as it was for Aristarchus and the Writer of Acts and Trophimus.

6th. By correcting Acts xx. 4, as to Sopatrus not sailing for Asia with Paul, but parting from him at Philippi, we can show an interesting agreement of that passage with 2 Cor. viii. 18. Sopatrus seems to have been a wealthy man, one of Paul's generous supporters; and when Paul is sending messengers to Corinth to receive the bounty for the poor of Jerusalem, he would naturally wish to send such "a brother, whose praise is throughout all the Churches," to accompany the less known Titus in that office of trust. The passage in Acts, therefore, gives us the man who is so described in the Epistle.

7th. By correcting Gal. ii. 1, and showing that the years there spoken of relate not to the time of the second journey to Jerusalem, but to the time when the Epistle was written, we remove a well-known apparent contradiction of Acts; and we also gain some dates, which, instead of being a stumbling-block, as hitherto, help to a satisfactory chronology of a large part of Paul's active life. The Epistle to the Galatians cannot have been

written after Paul left Philippi on his way to Jerusalem and to his imprisonment there. As A.D. 60 was certainly the year of his being sent off to Rome to his trial, he left Philippi in A.D. 57. As the Epistle was written within seventeen years of his conversion, this allows us to place the conversion in A.D. 41. Now the Second Epistle to the Corinthians was also written from Philippi, after the journey to Greece of Acts xx. 2, and "above fourteen years" from his heavenly vision (2 Cor. xii. 2). Taking, therefore, the date of the conversion from Gal. i. ii., the Second to the Corinthians was written in A.D. 55 or 56. The years in the two Epistles agree on the probable supposition that Paul had then tarried among his friends at Philippi for about eighteen months, between the summer in which he arrived and the spring in which he went away.

Yet further, from Acts ix.-xii. we learn that Paul's hurried journey to Jerusalem, the first after his conversion, took place about the time of Herod Agrippa's death, perhaps in A.D. 44. But we do not learn from Acts ix. how long that was after his conversion; the Writer of Acts was not at that time with him. From Gal. i. 18, however, we learn that he had spent three years in Damascus; and thus again we learn the date of his conversion, A.D. 41.

If, however, it be thought that the meaning here given to Paul's words in Gal. ii. 1, is doubtful, the argument may be stated in another way. From Gal. i. 18, we get an interval of three years between the conversion and the first visit to Jerusalem. From Acts ix. xii., we learn that that visit took place in A.D. 44, at the time of Herod Agrippa's death; and, therefore, that the conversion was in A.D. 41. From that we learn the date of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, namely, above fourteen years later, or in A.D. 55 or 56; and from that, again, by an eighteen months' residence at Philippi, we are able to place the Epistle to the Galatians in A.D. 57, within seventeen years after the conversion. Or, to state *the case* more shortly, without speaking of dates, the *history of Paul's life*, as shown in the following pages, *makes it quite reasonable to suppose that the Epistle*

to the Galatians should have been written shortly after the Second to the Corinthians. Thus the history gives a strong support to our view of Gal. ii. 1 ; namely, that the fourteen years relate not to the journey, but to when the Epistle was written.

Moreover, we thus have a number of what Paley in his "*Horæ Paulinæ*" calls undesigned coincidences or agreements between Paul's Epistles and the Acts of the Apostles, and between the Epistles themselves. These afford no inconsiderable proof of the genuineness of the writings ; that is, of all the Epistles bearing Paul's name, and of that portion of Acts in which the writer speaks as an eye-witness and fellow-traveller with the Apostle. The Author believes that the doubts which have been lately thrown upon many of the Epistles, and upon the Pastoral Epistles in particular, and upon the portion of Acts here spoken of, have arisen from misunderstanding them, and are here removed. These valuable writings contain an unusual number of names of persons and places, and of incidents, in respect to which the Author trusts that he reconciles them, one with the other ; and if there remain any contradictions or unexplained difficulties as to the events, they have escaped the Author's notice. These pages, moreover, offer a reasonable chronology of the Apostle's life, as far as the writings relate it ; and they make it unnecessary for us to invent for their explanation a second imprisonment in Rome, or any journeys beyond those mentioned in Acts.

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Note on Page 5, line 2.—To every professor of medicine, and every teacher of the liberal arts, who dwelt in Rome, Julius Cæsar gave the Roman citizenship (Suetonius, Cæsar, 42). Hence it is possible that Saul's father may in this way have gained that valuable privilege, as the son was a Roman citizen from his birth.

Note on Page 25, line 1.—Eusebius says that the Apostle Peter visited Rome in the reign of the Emperor Claudius (Eccl. Hist. ii. 14). This, therefore, was before Paul reached Corinth. If Peter passed through Corinth in his way to Rome, it may explain how the names of those who send greetings may possibly have been known at Rome. Peter may have seen some of them when at Corinth; Lucius or Silas he knew at Jerusalem (Acts xv.). It will also explain how Peter, or Cephas, had a body of followers at Corinth (1 Cor. i. 12).

Note on Page 49, line 35.—The Galatians are blamed in iv. 10, for keeping "days, and months, and seasons, and years." From the mention of years it would seem that a Sabbatical year had fallen between the time of Paul's second visit to the Galatians, and the date of this Epistle. The only Sabbatical year recorded in history is that of B.C. 162 (*see* I. Maccab. vi. 53). If from this we count forward 217 years ($= 31 \times 7$), we find that A.D. 55 was a Sabbatical year. This, according to our Table, is the year following that of Paul's last visit to Galatia, and two years before our date to this Epistle.

JOURNEYS AND EPISTLES

OF THE

APOSTLE PAUL.

As a first step towards rightly understanding Paul's Epistles, and the workings of his mind during his eventful life, we should begin by placing the Epistles, if possible, in the order in which they were written. We must do this by comparing the circumstances and places mentioned in each, with the Apostle's journeys as mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles. As neither in the Epistles nor in the Acts is there much mention of time, we must be guided less by the years of his life than by the map of his travels.

The public events which happened during the time of Paul's ministry are fixed with great probability as below, by Messrs. Conybeare and Howson, in their work on the Apostle; and it is unnecessary to repeat their arguments, which are founded on a variety of authorities:—

- A.D. 44. King Herod Agrippa I. dies.
- A.D. 52. The Emperor Claudius expels the Jews from Rome.
- A.D. 54. Nero becomes Emperor on the death of Claudius.
- A.D. 60. Portius Festus succeeds Felix as governor of Judea.
- A.D. 64. The fire at Rome; Nero persecutes the Christians.

Unfortunately the years when Sergius Paulus was proconsul of Cyprus, and when Gallio was proconsul of Achaia, are not so certainly known.

By these dates, but chiefly by the year when Festus came to Judea as governor, and sent Paul as a prisoner to Rome, the years of Paul's life are to be fixed; and they have been added to the Table of Paul's Journeys, which we place as the Table of Contents to this volume. But as we are never told in the history how many months he spent on each journey, and only once or twice how long he dwelt at a place, the intervals of time can only be stated by rather uncertain conjecture. It is, however, sufficiently clear that he became a Christian about A.D. 41, and that we lose sight of him in A.D. 64.

The Romans in Judea, and in other parts of the East, very much used the Greek language; and the Jews when using that language often gave to their names a European form, or translated them into Greek names of the same meaning. Thus Saul of Tarsus is better known by his Roman name Paulus or Paul. Barnabas's nephew John takes the Roman name Mark. The Hebrew name Simeon is changed to the Greek Simon. Among the translated names is that of the Apostle Cephas, *a rock*, which in Greek becomes Petrus or Peter. Jacobus or James becomes Cleopas, both meaning a *supplanter* or *thief*. Other names in the New Testament are shortened in familiarity; thus Epaphras is the same person as Epaphroditus, Sopatrus as Sosipatrus, Prisca as Priscilla, Silas as Silvanus, and Lucas or Luke as Lucius. When the slave Onesimus becomes a friend he receives the longer name of Onesiphorus.

From these examples of playful change of names we see that the Roman citizen bearing the name Silvanus, shortened into Silas, may very possibly be the same person as Lucius, also called Lucas or Luke; and thus that Silas, Silvanus, Lucius, and Luke, may all be the same person; and that he is so, is abundantly proved *by the narrative* of Paul's life. His full name may *have been* Lucius Silvanus. In order to show that this

supposition leads to no contradiction, we add all the places in which he is mentioned. We never meet with the two names in the same writing.

From the use of the words, "we" and "us," in the narrative, we judge that the writer of Acts calls him- self familiarly	Silas.
Timothy, as penman of 1 and 2 Thess., and 2 Cor., more ceremoniously	Silvanus.
Paul familiarly, in 2 Tim. and Philem., as also Timothy, when as penman of Coloss., he calls him the beloved physician	Luke.
Tertius, the penman of Romans, more ceremoniously	Lucius.

Thus we may accept the name of Luke for the writer of Acts agreeably to the tradition. Lucius of Cyrene (Acts xiii. 1) is a different person.

THE MARTYRDOM OF STEPHEN (Acts vi. vii.).

The very remarkable man, whom we shall hereafter know as the Apostle Paul, is first mentioned in history as "a young man named Saul," on the occasion of the death of Stephen, the first Christian martyr.

"In those days [A.D. 40 or 41], when the disciples were increasing, there arose a murmur of the Grecians against the Hebrews, that their widows were overlooked in the daily ministering. And the twelve [Apostles] called the multitude of the disciples, and said, 'It is not pleasing for us to leave the word of God, and to minister at tables [or keep the accounts]. Therefore, brethren, look ye out seven men of good report, full of spirit and wisdom, whom we will place over this business.' The disciples accordingly chose seven ministers or deacons, all of them, if we may judge from their names, Greeks, probably Jews. Of these the only one whom we have occasion to mention is Stephen.

Stephen preached in the synagogue in which the Greek Jews in Jerusalem met for worship; and his Christian preaching gave such offence that they brought him before the Sanhedrin, or high council, and accused him of "speaking blasphemous words against Moses and God." From the defence which he was allowed to make before his judges, we learn that his offence was his attack upon the narrow spirit of much of the Mosaic law, particularly in making Jerusalem the habitation of Jehovah. Stephen points out in his speech that God appeared to Abraham when in Mesopotamia; that he appeared to Moses at Mount Sinai; that for forty years the Tabernacle was with the fathers in the desert; and though Solomon built the Temple in Jerusalem, yet that the Most High dwelleth not in temples made with hands. Thus his whole argument is an attack upon the prejudices of the inhabitants of Jerusalem, in favour of a more liberal view of the Jewish religion, and against an express declaration in the law, while at the same time he charges his hearers with not themselves keeping the law. On this they thrust him out of the city, and then stoned him; "and Saul was consenting to his death" (Acts viii. 1).

This was followed by "a great persecution against the Church in Jerusalem; and they were all, except the Apostles, scattered through the regions of Judea and Samaria." Thus we see that the dispute within the Church, which led to the appointment of the Greek deacons, and the persecution against the Church, from which the Apostles were excepted, were both founded on feelings of race and language, rather than of religion; or on feelings of religion only so far as the new religion proposed to break down the distinctions of race.

Saul was born of Hebrew parents in Tarsus, a Phœnician city on the coast of Cilicia, in Asia Minor, the Tarshish of the Hebrew Scriptures, a city in which many Greeks had settled, and which had already become famous for its school of Greek learning. Its scholars were known abroad as travelling teachers; in Rome *there were more professors of rhetoric, oratory, and*

poetry from Tarsus, than from Alexandria or Athens (Strabo, xiv. 13). This tells us that Greek learning could be gained more cheaply at Tarsus than at most places; at the same time Greek philosophy cannot but there have learnt something from Judaism. Tarsus must have gained many advantages from the mixed character of its inhabitants; and a Jew of Tarsus is little likely to have had very strong prejudices for ceremonial Judaism. But Saul, not content with a mere Greek education, wished to study his religion where he could do so to the greatest advantage; and as he had means which enabled him to travel and to pay for the best instruction, he went up to Jerusalem, as we should say to college, and there he sat for some time at the feet of Gamaliel, an honoured teacher of the Mosaic Law, who guided his pupils in all the strictness of Judaism (Acts xxii. 3). Thus Saul gained the Pharisees' opinions as to the resurrection of the dead (Acts xxiii. 6).

SAUL IS CONVERTED ON THE ROAD TO DAMASCUS

(Acts ix.).

After the death of Stephen, Saul, yet breathing threats and slaughter against the disciples, went to the high priest, and obtained letters to the synagogues of Damascus, authorizing him, if he found any of the disciples there, whether men or women, to bring them bound to Jerusalem. But on his journey to Damascus a change came over his mind and character. This he described as caused by a voice from heaven, which warned him not to persecute the disciples of Jesus. At the same time he fell to the ground blinded by a great light which then shone upon him; and he was led into Damascus by those who had journeyed with him. There after some days he was baptized. He then retired for some little time into the neighbouring parts of Arabia (Gal. i. 17). On his return to Damascus *he preached Jesus in the synagogues with the same*

earnestness that he had before felt as a persecutor (Acts ix. and xxii.).

Since, at a later time, in his speech in Jerusalem (Acts xxii.), he describes his conversion to Christianity as a revelation from heaven, we naturally inquire what was revealed to him, and what was the great truth at which he then arrived. It was nothing for which he needed human testimony, for in his First Epistle to the Corinthians, chap. xv., he quotes the apostles and disciples as witnesses for the asserted facts, relating to Jesus and his bodily resurrection; and yet in the Epistle to the Galatians he says that he "consulted not flesh and blood" before he began to teach. Therefore, he gained his new opinions from his own conscience. This he thought the voice of the risen Jesus speaking from heaven, which told him that he was going to do wrong as a persecutor. He recognized from his own conscience the truth of what Jesus had been teaching, and what Stephen had repeated, that God was the father of all mankind, and thus that the policy of the Jewish rulers was a narrow bigotry. When his conscience had brought him thus far, his reasoning powers naturally came into play, to reconcile this new view of right and wrong, of God's justice, with what he had been hitherto taught, and with what he had learned from the Scriptures. He thought he saw a hidden meaning in much of the Scriptures, correcting this narrowness; and in the Epistle to the Ephesians he says that God made known to him the mystery of His will, namely, that from the beginning He had purposed in the fulness of times to gather under one head all men, those living and those already dead. When this new and almost dazzling light broke upon him, overthrowing all his former prejudices, the historic facts of the life of Jesus he probably thought of little importance. He afterwards readily accepted them on the testimony of the Apostles, to whom he would by no means allow that he owed any part of his religious views, or on the testimony of such writings relating to Jesus as may already have been *afloat among the disciples.*

Immediately he determined not to persecute the

disciples, but to become one of them. He carried with him all his former zeal into his new course of life. He saw two tasks lying before him. One was to persuade the Gentiles to put away their idol worship, and the sensual vices which that worship encouraged, and to embrace the religious truths of Judaism unencumbered with its ceremonies. The other was to persuade the Jews to admit the Gentiles into religious fellowship without requiring them to come under the bondage of the Levitical Law and the tradition; and this he thought an important step towards the conversion of the Gentiles.

The Jews of Damascus, with whom Saul argued in this way, soon sought to kill him as an apostate; and they watched the city gates for him day and night lest he should escape. The disciples, however, let him down by a basket over the city wall; and he made his way back to Jerusalem (Acts ix. 26). This was three years after his conversion (Gal. i. 18).

SAUL'S FIRST VISIT TO JERUSALEM AFTER HIS CONVERSION (Acts ix.).

Saul's reason for going to Jerusalem was to join himself to the disciples; but they were very naturally afraid of him, not knowing whether he really had become one of themselves. Among them, however, there was one who had known Saul before; and he assured them that Saul might be trusted. This was Barnabas, a Levite, a native of Cyprus, a zealous and wealthy disciple, who had sold land which he possessed in that island, and had given the money as a contribution towards the expenses of the young Church (Acts iv. 37). He brought Saul to the Apostles; and after seeing them, Saul preached boldly in the name of the Lord Jesus, addressing himself chiefly to the Grecians, or Jews who spoke the Greek language. But his life was hardly safe in Jerusalem, because his teaching went to weaken the authority of the Mosaic Law; and so the disciples brought him down to Cæsarea on the coast.

and sent him forth to Tarsus, the place of his birth (Acts ix. 30). Thus at this time there was no severe persecution against the disciples who were quiet; but Saul brought himself into danger by his preaching boldly and openly.

This visit to Jerusalem he slightly mentions fourteen years later in his Epistle to the Galatians, i. 18-21, saying that he went there to inquire for Peter, and abode with him fifteen days, seeing no other of the Apostles but James, the Lord's brother; and that he then went into the regions of Syria and Cilicia. He probably moved about in those parts while Tarsus was his home.

SAUL AT ANTIOCH IN SYRIA (Acts xi.).

The persecution of the disciples, which had shown itself in the martyrdom of Stephen, had driven many of the more active Grecian disciples out of Jerusalem. When thus scattered, they had preached in Phenicia, Cyprus, and Antioch with great success. The Church in Jerusalem was much pleased with this increase to their numbers. Even if their feelings as Hebrews would have made them better pleased with Hebrew converts, yet they were too few not to be glad of Greeks. They accordingly sent Barnabas down to Antioch in Syria, to encourage them in the good work. His Greek education fitted him for this task. When there, he warmly pressed the new converts to cleave to the Lord; but he himself went off to Tarsus to seek Saul, who being like himself, a master of both languages, and acquainted with the prejudices both of Greeks and Jews, was well qualified to work in that field. Barnabas brought Saul to Antioch, and they preached there together for a whole year, and taught a rather large multitude. For the next ten years Saul made Antioch his home, except when absent on his missionary journeys.

The disciples were called Christians first at Antioch. From the name we learn that one of their main points *was the assertion that Jesus was the expected Christ, or Messiah.* It was probably at first a name of reproach;

and to be a Christian was the crime with which they were charged by their Gentile persecutors (1 Peter iv. 16). By their bold preaching, they disturbed the state religion, the Roman Paganism; the Jews were more discreet, their monotheism only reached the educated philosophers; and thus they were less obnoxious to the rulers.

Antioch on the river Orontes in Syria was the rival of Alexandria. It had not as a port the advantages for trade of that great city; yet from its more central situation, it had a better claim to be the capital of the Greek-speaking subjects of Rome. Like Alexandria, it had profited much by the skill and trading enterprise of the Jews, whom its rulers had freely welcomed there. At Antioch, as along all the coasts of the Mediterranean, where Jews and Greeks had alike settled, the Jews had unavoidably made known their great belief that there was one only God, and thus without venturing to attack the idolatry of their rulers, they had done much towards weakening the belief in the Pagan gods, and in preparing the way for Christianity. Standing between the Hebrew Jews of Judea, and the Greek Jews of Asia Minor and the West, this city naturally became the centre of the new religious movement which was meant to embrace both Jews and Gentiles alike.

Soon after Saul had reached Antioch, news arrived there of a scarcity of food at Jerusalem, and of the sufferings of the poor in that city. The Jews in the Dispersion always looked to Jerusalem as their religious centre, and were ever ready to send relief to their poorer brethren there. At this time we may suppose that the Greek converts joined the Greek Jews in that pious act; and the Church of Antioch sent their contribution by the hands of Barnabas and Saul (Acts xi.).

SAUL'S SECOND VISIT TO JERUSALEM (Acts xi. xii. ;
Gal. ii.).

In the Apostle's own accounts of this visit in his *Epistle to the Galatians*, the mistranslation of a word has

led some critics to suppose that he is speaking of a later journey to Jerusalem, and thus to think that he and his friend the writer of Acts contradict one another. They have understood him as saying that "after fourteen years" from the former journey, he again went up to Jerusalem; whereas he only says, that "in the course of fourteen years," between that journey and his writing the Epistle, he again went up. He went with Barnabas and took Titus with him.

Titus was a young Greek, whom Saul engaged as a servant and helper in his missionary work. He lets us understand, though his words are not clear, that he circumcised Titus when they arrived in Jerusalem, saying, "He was not under a necessity to be circumcised; but it was because of the false brethren who had slipped in, such as had crept in to spy out our freedom," alluding to the great question in dispute, how far they should require the Greek converts to Christianity to come under the bondage of the Jewish Law. He seems to say that he had a regard to the prejudices of others, to whom he "yielded subjection not for an hour." His doing so, he may be supposed to defend in 1 Cor. ix. 19, saying, "Unto the Jews I became as a Jew, that I might gain Jews; to those under the Law, as under the Law (not being myself under the Law), that I might gain those that are under the Law."

Saul and Barnabas had been sent up to Jerusalem merely to carry relief to the brethren (Acts xi. 30); but when there Saul thought proper to communicate "privately" to the three chiefs of the Apostles, his view of the religion of Jesus, and what it was that he was preaching to the Gentiles. This communication between Saul and the Apostles may not have been known to the writer of Acts. The question, how far Gentile converts were to be bound by the Jewish Law, was evidently a subject of discussion between himself and the pillars of the Church, James, Peter, and John; and the discussion ended with their giving "to me and Barnabas the right hands of fellowship, so that we might go to the Gentiles, and they to the circumcision." Each party was to preach and *make converts* in its own sphere; each, we must sup-

pose, fixing its own conditions for admission of converts into the Church. The Apostles added as their last words the request, that when on their missionary journeys, Barnabas and Saul would make collections for the poor of Jerusalem (Gal. ii. 10).

This well meant but unwise charity towards the poor of Jerusalem had begun four centuries earlier, when, after the return from the captivity in Babylon, the city of Jerusalem, not enjoying a monarch's expenditure, had maintenance for only a scanty population; and Nehemiah then pressed upon the zealous, that they would be performing a religious duty by living there (Nehem. xi. 1, 2). This, of course, laid a corresponding religious duty upon those who lived at a distance, and could earn a livelihood more easily; namely, of contributing to the maintenance of such as could not find work and wages in the capital. Hence Jerusalem was at all times burdened with an idle and restless body of paupers, which was kept there by the generosity of others. Paul, however, readily accepted the task enjoined on him, and he never came to Jerusalem without bringing a contribution for the poor (Acts xxiv. 17). In this he was freely helped by the Gentile converts to Christianity; and he pressed upon them that as they were now partakers of the Jews' spiritual advantages, it was their duty to minister to the Jews in carnal matters (Rom. xv. 27).

King Herod Agrippa I., who had been a persecutor of the Church, and had slain James the brother of John, died about this time; and Christianity continued to spread widely (Acts xii.). This was perhaps in A.D. 44. After Agrippa's death, the Roman emperor took the government of Judea wholly into his own hands. He carried it on by means of a Procurator or governor, who usually lived at Cæsarea on the coast.

When Barnabas and Saul returned from Jerusalem to Antioch, they brought with them John, who also bore the Latin name of Mark (Acts xii. 25). No doubt they brought also the young Titus, though he is not mentioned. From this time we must suppose that Titus usually accompanied Saul, even when not

mentioned in the narrative. John Mark was the cousin or nephew of Barnabas (Col. iv. 10). At Antioch there were several able preachers or prophets, Simon called Niger, Manaen, the foster brother or schoolfellow of Herod Antipas the Tetrarch, and Lucius of Cyrene; so Barnabas and Saul after a time were less needed there; and the Church at Antioch thought fit to send them out as missionaries to spread Christianity in other places. We must suppose that, when doing so, the Church supplied some funds towards the expenses of the journey.

SAUL'S FIRST MISSIONARY JOURNEY (Acts xiii. xiv.).

From Antioch Barnabas and Saul went down to Seleucia on the coast, and from thence sailed to Cyprus, where Christianity had been already preached by some of the disciples who had fled from the persecution in Jerusalem. They took with them John Mark, and no doubt Titus, as Saul's companion. At Cyprus, Barnabas was among friends. There, at the town of Paphos, the Roman governor, Sergius Paulus, a man of proconsular rank, was converted from Paganism, by Saul's preaching. It was usual for a Roman of high rank, when living in a foreign country, to have with him a philosopher or literary friend, as an Englishman in a like case would have a chaplain. Sergius Paulus's friend was Elymas, a magian, or Eastern philosopher, called in the Authorized Version, a sorcerer. He undertook to oppose Saul in argument before the proconsul. Saul in anger threatened him with blindness; and we are told that darkness then came upon him, and that the proconsul seeing it, became a believer. We remark that if the writer of Acts had himself been present, he would probably have told us how it happened, without making it appear to be a miraculous blindness. If the proconsul changed from Paganism to simple monotheism, the change was not remarkable; for Judaism had shaken the faith of many of the educated Pagans. Their *eclectic philosophy* had taught them the hollowness of

their own religion, while they carefully upheld it as the religion of the State. But if Sergius Paulus openly professed Christianity by joining a Christian Church, his conduct was remarkable. At this time Saul is first known to us by the Roman name of Paul. That name may have been given to him by the proconsul of Cyprus.

From Paphos in Cyprus Paul and Barnabas sailed for Pamphylia, and came to the town of Perga. There John Mark left them (Acts xlii. 13); he may have shrunk from the long journey now proposed to him; and we shall hereafter learn that Paul, as we shall henceforth call the Apostle, was much displeased with him for going. From Perga, Barnabas and Paul went northward to Antioch in Pisidia, about one hundred miles from the coast, where they landed. There the Jews were numerous enough to have a synagogue. To the synagogue the two missionaries went on the Sabbath; and when the reading of the Law and the Prophets was ended, the rulers of the synagogue invited them to preach, which Paul accordingly did.

In his sermon, Paul quotes much that we read about Jesus in the Gospels, using words which we find more exactly in that of Luke. The effect of his preaching was such that the people came to hear him on the next Sabbath in such crowds as to fill the Jews with envy. He was weakening the authority of the Mosaic Law. They accordingly raised a persecution against him and Barnabas, and drove them out of the city (Acts xlii.).

They then withdrew, and travelled about one hundred miles eastward to Iconium, where there was also a synagogue; and there Paul and Barnabas so preached that a great multitude, both of Jews and Greeks, believed. But the unbelieving Jews stirred up the minds of the Gentiles against the brethren. The Jews' comfort, as foreigners among the Gentiles, arose from their keeping quiet, and making no religious stir, lest it should be followed by persecution. They could not but fear that trouble would arise to them from Paul's preaching; and an assault was made upon Paul and Barnabas, with the approval of the rulers; and in order to avoid being

stoned, they departed to Lystra in Lycaonia, which was about twenty miles from Iconium.

At Lystra there was no synagogue, and there they were listened to favourably by the Gentile crowd, who would have worshipped them as gods come down to earth, guided by an old tradition that the gods had once come down to visit some favoured mortals in their neighbourhood. But there came Jews from Antioch and Iconium, who persuaded the people of Lystra against Paul, and he was again in danger of being killed; and he and Barnabas moved away to Derbe, also in Lycaonia, about forty miles eastward of Lystra.

After preaching and making disciples in Derbe, they returned to Lystra, Iconium, and Antioch in Pisidia, confirming the disciples whom they had before made in those cities, and choosing elders for them in each church for its future government. In all arrangements for the church they no doubt copied, as far as was reasonable, those of the Jewish synagogue.

The Jews, when wandering from home in the search for places where their skilful industry could find profitable employment, had usually gone to the great centres of trading activity. But these inland colonies of Jews, which Paul and Barnabas had been visiting, had been placed there by Antiochus the Great, about two hundred years before this time. Antiochus had moved a large number of Jewish families from Babylonia, had placed them here in Phrygia, and the neighbourhood, and had given them lands and other advantages, as a help towards keeping his rebellious subjects in subjection (Josephus, *Antiq.* XII. iii. 4).

From Antioch in Pisidia, Paul and Barnabas then returned through Perga to Attalia, on the coast. They had travelled about five hundred miles by land since they before left the coast. From Attalia they sailed to Antioch in Syria, from whence they had started. This missionary journey must have occupied the whole of a summer. The winter months were unsuited for such a journey (Acts xiv. 26).

THE DISPUTE AT ANTIOCH (Acts xv.).

At Antioch, Paul and Barnabas called together the disciples, and related to them the result of their preaching on this journey, and how God had opened a door of faith to the Gentiles. At Antioch they spent not a little time with the disciples (Acts xiv. 28). These words may not mean more than the winter months.

While at Antioch, and while they were rejoicing with the disciples at the success of their preaching among the Gentiles, and on the number of churches which they had established in Asia Minor, "certain men, who came down from Judea, were teaching the brethren, Unless ye be circumcised after the Mosaic manner ye cannot be saved." This raised no little dispute. The success which Paul and Barnabas reported had been gained because they put no such condition on the admission of Gentiles into the Church; and now to impose such a condition would not only undo all the good work which they had done on their missionary journey, but would also drive many out of the Church at Antioch. Orders, however, had come from the Apostles and elders at Jerusalem; and, therefore, they wisely determined that Paul and Barnabas should go up to Jerusalem about this very important matter. Some others were sent with them, probably some of the Judaizing party (Acts xv. 4).

Paul, in his Epistle to the Galatians, gives some further particulars about this dispute—namely, that the Apostle Peter had come to Antioch shortly before, and that he at first took Paul's view about how the Gentile converts should be treated, and he did not refuse to eat with the Gentiles; but when the certain persons came from Jerusalem from James, then Peter withdrew and separated himself, fearing those of the circumcision. And the other Jews dissembled with him, so that even Barnabas was carried away. On this, Paul boldly charged Peter with unworthy conduct; Peter had eaten with the Gentiles himself, and now he would require the Gentiles to live as Jews (Gal. ii. 14).

The writer of Acts, led perhaps by kind feelings towards Peter, had kept back Peter's name in his account of the dispute.

PAUL'S THIRD JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM; THE COUNCIL
(Acts xv.).

The messengers from Antioch probably took their passage in a coasting vessel from Seleucia to Ptolemais; from thence they went to Jerusalem by land. As they passed through Phenicia and Samaria, Paul and Barnabas reported the conversion of the Gentiles which they had wrought on their missionary journey, and they thereby caused great joy to all the brethren. The Samaritans naturally welcomed the Gentiles into the Church, since they also were treated by the Jews as inferiors. When Paul and Barnabas came to Jerusalem, they declared all that God had done through means of them; but some of the brethren, who were of the strict sect of the Pharisees, did not approve of the manner in which it had been done, and pleaded that it was necessary for the Gentile converts to keep the Law of Moses. But when the Council of Apostles and elders met to consider the matter, Peter took the side of Paul, and advised that they should not put upon the neck of the disciples a yoke which neither they nor their fathers had been able to bear. Paul's views were also supported by the news which he and Barnabas related of the wonders which God had wrought among the Gentiles by means of the very teaching which some were blaming; and then James, who was the leader of the Judaizing party, yielded to Paul's reasons, and advised that they should not trouble the Gentiles, who would turn to God, with any commands beyond that they should abstain from idols, from fornication, from meat that had been strangled, and from blood.

The Council then sent a letter to the Gentile converts in Antioch, Syria, and Cilicia, to that effect, committing it to the hands of Paul and Barnabas; and with

them they sent Judas named Barsabas, and Silas, chief men among the brethren (Acts xv. 29).

Paul, in the Epistle to the Galatians, does not mention this third journey, which took place after Peter had come to Antioch; and he distinguishes his former visit from this by saying that then he communicated his opinion about the Good Tidings to the Apostles "privately to them that seemed fit" (Gal. ii. 2). On this visit, on the other hand, he was carrying a public message on the same subject from one church to the other. If we note any difference between Acts and the Epistle to the Galatians in this matter, it is only that the good-natured historian has softened the account of the quarrel between the Apostles.

When the messengers arrived at Antioch, Judas and Silas, being both ready speakers, preached there for some time. Judas then returned to Jerusalem, but Silas remained at Antioch.

After some time spent at Antioch, which Paul now made his head-quarters, he proposed to Barnabas that they should take a second missionary journey, and again visit the cities in which they had before preached. Barnabas agreed to this, and proposed to take John Mark with them as before; but Paul was displeased with Mark, because he had quitted them in Pamphylia on the former journey. So they chose rather to go different ways. Barnabas took his nephew Mark, and sailed to Cyprus; while Paul took his new friend Silas, to go through Syria and Cilicia (Acts xv. 41).

Henceforth we shall find Silas often mentioned as Paul's companion on his journeys; and by noting that it is when he is present that the words "we" and "us" are used in the narrative, we are led to think that he was the writer of the Acts of the Apostles. This need not contradict the common opinion that the book of Acts was written by Luke, for the one man may have had the two or more names. Silas and Silvanus, and Luke and Lucius, may all mean the same person. Like Paul, Silas was a Roman citizen (Acts xvi. 38).

PAUL'S SECOND MISSIONARY JOURNEY (Acts xvi.-xviii.)

Paul and Silas went by land, through Syria and Cilicia, to Derbe, and then to Lystra. At Lystra Paul met with a young man named Timothy, who was well spoken of by the brethren at Lystra and Iconium. Him Paul wished to take with him. He was the son of a believing Jewess, but of a Greek father. Before taking him as a fellow-missionary, Paul circumcised him; and he did so not because his mother was a Jewess, but because "they all knew that his father was a Greek;" hence his doing so supports our opinion that Paul had before circumcised Titus.

In every city that Paul and Silas came to, they delivered to the disciples the commands of the late Council at Jerusalem, as containing the terms on which Gentile converts were to be admitted into the Church. They went through Phrygia and Galatia, and by Mysia to Troas, on the coast, having travelled much above six hundred miles. From Troas they sailed for Macedonia; and passing by the island of Samothracia, they landed at Neapolis, and thence went up the country to Philippi, the chief city of those parts.

At Philippi Paul and Silas spent some time, probably the winter months. There was no synagogue of Jews there; but they found a number of women who had rejected Paganism, and who worshipped God under the guidance of Lydia, a seller of purple from Thyatira in Asia Minor; for Jewish influence had earlier spread the belief in one God in Asia Minor than in other parts of the Roman empire. Her Paul baptized with her household. Such was the success of Paul's preaching, that some of those who made a gain by their Pagan superstitions raised a disturbance against them; and they were both thrown into prison. There they found hearers in the other prisoners; but their preaching was interrupted by an earthquake, which shook the prison and opened all the doors. Upon this the jailer was converted to a belief in God. But though their Roman citizenship saved Paul and Silas from worse treatment,

yet their friends advised them to leave the city (Acts xvi.).

This slight earthquake at Philippi is confirmed by what Tacitus relates in his Annals of the great earthquake which a few years before had destroyed several cities on the neighbouring coast of Asia Minor, and of a slighter earthquake which happened two years after this time and did much mischief in Phrygia.

At Philippi Paul had made such warm friends, that they sent him away to Thessalonica with money to relieve his wants (Phil. iv. 15).

From Philippi they passed through Amphipolis and Apollonia, and came to Thessalonica, where there was a synagogue. There, as usual, Paul preached on the Sabbath, and on the days between worked at some handicraft to earn his own livelihood (2 Thess. iii. 8). Some few Jews and many Gentiles were converted. But the other Jews, zealous for the Law, raised a tumult against him, and charged him, before the Roman rulers of the city, with saying that there was another king, not Cæsar, but Jesus. They knew that their Roman masters would not listen to their complaints against Paul on the ground of his offending the Mosaic Law, so they charged him with treason against the Roman Emperor. The charge may not have been listened to, yet he and Silas had to leave the city for their safety, with Jason and others whom their preaching had won to follow them.

From Thessalonica they went to Beræa, where also there was a synagogue. There at first they were well received by the Jews; but some of the Jews from Thessalonica, who had followed them, stirred up the people against Paul; and he had to be hurried out of the city, with Jason and other friends who took care of him. He left word that Silas and Timothy should return to Thessalonica, and then follow him to Athens.

From Beræa to Athens is a difficult journey of two hundred miles; and as Beræa is not far from the coast, it is probable that Paul travelled this journey by sea. At Athens there was a synagogue, and there Paul disputed with the Jews; and then in the market place he

was encountered by the Greek philosophers, some of the Epicurean sect, and some of the Stoic sect. When he preached to them of the resurrection from the dead and the Good Tidings of Jesus, they brought him into the Areopagus as a place where he could be better heard. There he delivered a noble speech, suited to a philosophical audience; not quoting the Hebrew Scriptures as in the synagogues, but setting forth a pure monotheism, the common brotherhood of all men, and a future day when God will judge the world by a man whom he had raised from the dead in proof of his being ordained for that purpose. But the doctrine of the resurrection from the dead met with little approval from the Greeks of Athens.

In this speech Paul quotes as from a Greek poet the remark that we are all God's offspring. This quotation he probably borrowed from the Jewish writer Aristobulus; since the original words in Aratus are, that we are Jupiter's offspring, and Aristobulus in his work misquoted them. (Euseb. Præp. Evang. xiii. 12; Acts xvii.)

PAUL AT CORINTH (Acts xviii. 1-17).

From Athens Paul came to Corinth, and there he remained a year and six months, teaching the word of God. Corinth was the capital of the Roman province of Achaia, and was governed by a Roman proconsul. It was the port from which ships sailed to Italy; and there the wish to visit Rome may naturally have arisen in Paul's mind. It seems probable that at this time he wrote the Epistle to the Romans. He, no doubt, meant to send it to the Jewish synagogue in Rome. How far the Jews of Rome had accepted Christianity is unknown; it is not probable that there was yet any separate Christian Church in that city. The reasons for thinking that it was written at this time are as follows: First, because Erastus, the chamberlain of the city, who sends greetings, lived at Corinth (2 Tim. iv. 20); and Gaius, who *sends greetings*, was baptized at Corinth (1 Cor. i. 14); *Secondly*, because of the other friends who send greet-

ings, Jason and Sosipatrus, the one of Thessalonica, and the other of Berea, had no doubt followed him in his flight from those cities; and he had been since joined by Timothy and Silas, the latter of whom we suppose the same person as Lucius therein named. Lastly, because we shall never find Paul at Corinth a second time.

We put aside from the Epistle chap. xvi. 1-20, with the greetings to numerous friends, some fellow-labourers, some fellow-sufferers, with all of whom he had lived in intimacy; whereas he is little likely to have known anybody at Rome before he was taken there as a prisoner. We may also put aside chap. xii.-xv. 7., as being addressed to Gentile converts, old acquaintances, not to Jews and strangers, like the rest of the Epistle. We shall hereafter give reasons for thinking that these two rejected portions were written to Ephesus.

THE EPISTLE TO THE ROMANS,
Omitting chap. xii.-xv. 7, and xvi. 1-20.

This Epistle may be conveniently divided into three parts. First, in chap. i.-viii., Paul sets forth his view of Christ's mission, as supported by the Scriptures, by reasoning which may have been suited to Jewish readers at the time, but which under our changed circumstances we now find it difficult to follow, and to which we may do great injustice by our attempted abstract. Secondly, in chap. ix. x. and xi., he laments over the hardness of the Jews in having rejected Christ; but says that they will not be cast off, unless they continue in unbelief. Thirdly, in chap. xv. 8-32 he speaks of himself, his past journeys, and his intended journeys; and in chap. xvi. 21-24 he sends greetings.

Part the First.

Paul herein writes to Jews, with whom an argument drawn from Scripture carries great weight, and to strangers, with whom he reasons as with equals; he does not address them with the authority of a teacher. He

asserts his apostleship from God, through Jesus Christ, to preach to the Gentiles, among whom those to whom he is writing are now living. He has been hoping to visit them. The Good Tidings which he preaches are for the salvation of all men, of the Jew first, and then of the Gentiles. The Gentiles might have known the unseen God through his created works; but instead, while professing to be wise, they gave themselves up to idolatry and gross sensuality (i.).

But those who do the same must not condemn the others; for punishment will fall upon all who do wrong, upon the Jews first, and then upon the Gentiles. The Jews must not trust in their possession of the Law while they break it. He is not a true Jew who is so only outwardly, and not inwardly in the heart (ii.).

The Jew's great advantage is that he has the Scriptures. But if he does wrong he will be punished equally with the Gentile; ceremonial works will not gain him acquittal. God's merciful righteousness has been shown beyond the Law, as promised by the Law and the Prophets, even to all who believe on the Lord Jesus Christ. He is God not of the Jews only, but of all men. All this does not contradict the Law; it establishes it (iii.).

This is shown in the case of Abraham, who was not justified by works of the Law; he had not yet come under the Law when his faith earned for him the promises, so that he became the father of many nations (or Gentiles, using the word in two senses) (iv.). So we, who are justified by faith, have peace with God through Christ. By one man, Adam, sin entered the world; and now, by the obedience of the one, even Christ, grace will abound, and many will be made righteous (v.).

But being under grace, and not under the Law, does not authorize us to sin (vi.). We are loosed from the Law, but only that we may serve in newness of spirit. Not that the Law is sin, but sin takes advantage of the Law. We are carnal, sold under sin, and thus we do what we hate; but we shall be delivered through Christ (vii.). The Law could not free us from sin; but *God sent his Son* to free us. By adoption we shall be

joint heirs of God, with Christ. We now groan, waiting for the adoption. We hope to be called according to God's good purpose, as having been fore-determined to be found after the image of his Son. Nothing will be able to separate us from God's love, which is in Christ (viii.).

Part the Second.

He has great sorrow for his brethren the Israelites, for whose sake he would willingly be accursed. But not all who are of Israel, nor all who are of Abraham, are the children. God's word will not fail, but it will be according to election. We must not question God's righteousness in this matter. He pitieth whom he will, and he is severe upon whom he will. God said in Hosea, "I will call them my people who are not my people." So the Gentiles, who followed not the righteousness [of the Law], have found the righteousness which is of faith; and the Israelites have not attained to it, because they followed it, not by faith, but by works of the Law (ix.).

His heart's desire is that Israel may be saved. But while seeking their own righteousness, they have not submitted themselves to God's righteousness. For there is no difference between Jew and Gentile, provided they both believe. God has now found them who sought him not, while the Israelites, to whom he stretched out his hands, have been disobedient (x.).

But God has not cast away his people; a remnant of them are being saved. If their loss [or partial rejection] has proved to be riches to the Gentiles, how much more might their fulness [the salvation of all of them] be! Unless they continue in unbelief, they will obtain mercy. They should understand the mystery contained in the Scriptures, That out of Sion shall come the Deliverer, a mystery as to which Israel had hitherto been blind (xi.).

Part the Third.

He has written boldly to them because of the grace given to him. He has preached from Jerusalem to the borders of Illyricum. He hopes hereafter to visit them

on his way to Spain. He is now going to Jerusalem with gifts from Macedonia and Achaia. The Gentiles are sending gifts to the Jews; and he begs for their prayers, that he may be delivered from the unbelievers in Jerusalem (xv.). He sends greetings from the friends who are with him (xvi. 21-24).

In this Epistle Paul quotes largely from the Scriptures, as was natural when reasoning with Jews. Whether he took these quotations from the Septuagint, or translated himself from the Hebrew, is doubtful. In his youth at Tarsus he may have read the Greek; but when a student under Gamaliel he of course read the Scriptures in Hebrew. An examination of passages will not enable us to determine, since in respect to the quotations in chap. iii. 10-18 the Septuagint has certainly been altered to agree with the Epistle. Paul here quotes six several passages—five from the Psalms, and one from Isaiah. But they look like one single quotation; and so an editor of the Septuagint has understood them to be; and accordingly we find Psalm xiv. 3, in the Greek, lengthened by the five other passages.

In chap. ii. 1, he says, "For wherein thou judgest another thou condemnest thyself;" and in ii. 13, "For not the hearers of the Law are just before God, but the doers of the Law will be justified; and in iii. 31, that he does not mean to make void the Law, but to establish it. When we compare these words with Matt. vii. 1, and Luke, vi. 37, "Judge not, that ye be not judged," and with Matt. vii. 24, and Luke vi. 47, "Every one that heareth my words and doeth them not, &c.," and with Matt. v. 17, "I am not come to destroy [the Law], but to fulfil," we are tempted to think that the Sayings of Jesus, which are embodied in the Gospels, were some of them already reduced to writing, and in Paul's hands. When we come to later Epistles, we shall find it probable that the Sayings of Jesus were in the hands both of the Apostle and of his readers.

This Epistle contains no advice peculiarly fitted for the Roman Church; and in this respect it is unlike most of the other Epistles. Paul perhaps was not acquainted *with any circumstances* calling for advice, or with its

present condition. He may also have thought that the Church at Rome was under some other Apostolic authority than his own; for he only proposes to visit them on his way to Spain. This may be read as a general Epistle, fitted for any church of Jewish disciples, whom he wished to persuade to allow the rite of circumcision to be put aside in favour of Gentile converts. Paul says that in this he is not proposing to make the Law void, but to establish it (iii. 31). But he does not explain how this is to come to pass. He might have argued with some show of justice that the covenant which God made with Abraham in Gen. xvii. was to the effect that those of Abraham's children who adopted the rite should have the land of Canaan as their possession; and therefore that Gentiles at a distance, when converts to Judaism, or to Judaic Christianity, might be allowed to omit the Abrahamic covenant with no loss except of a share in the land of Canaan. (Of course the writer of Gen. xvii. was speaking of Abraham's children only, or rather of Isaac's children only, as to be many nations or tribes; but as soon as any one, like Paul, took "Nations" in its larger sense, as Gentiles, and thought that Greeks and Romans might, by adoption, become children of Abraham, he must have seen that the land of Canaan was not promised to such adopted children, and therefore he may have thought that the rite was not imposed upon them. This, however, is our own conjecture; we do not find that he used such an argument.

When the worthlessness of the ceremonial works of the Law is here pointed out, there are, it must be acknowledged, passages which might be quoted as if the Apostle were undervaluing moral works of goodness. But that such was certainly not his meaning is clear from other passages, where he says that God will render to every man according to his deeds, with life everlasting to them that continue in well-doing (ii. 6, 7).

We have no reason to think that the account of the degrading vices and gross sensuality of the Gentiles, contained in chap. i., is much exaggerated. The Roman historians and poets contain evidence of a noble spirit of patriotism, which was not yet wholly dead; and show

many bright lights in the nation's character; yet they let us understand that under the emperors it was darkly shaded with immorality. Moreover, there was a very large class of the population, the slave class, who had all the vices and few of the redeeming virtues of the Roman gentry. The wealthy Romans trembled, as Tacitus says, at the vast scale of their own slave establishments, in which there was continually an immense increase, while the freeborn population daily decreased. The morality of the whole empire was sadly corrupt. Equally low at this time was the morality of those of the Greeks with whom the Jews were best acquainted. The Greeks of Syrian Antioch were thought to be the corrupters of Roman morality. The Greeks of Asia Minor and of Alexandria were probably not much better; and, whatever faults the Jews had at this time, however much they may have copied the manners of the nations around, yet if we judge a people by its morality, the Jews were, and had been, like a lamp kept alight in the midst of a general gloom. This advantage they owed very much, as Paul remarks (iii. 2), to their possessing the Scriptures. Whatever was the narrowness of the Mosaic Law, yet when the Law and the Prophets were read every seventh day in synagogue, they kept in sight before the Jew a high standard of morality and a pure religion. The Gentiles had no such advantage. Thus we can almost excuse the Jew for boasting of the Law, and claiming to be "a guide to the blind, a light to them that are in darkness, an instructor of the unwise, a teacher of babes, having the form of knowledge and of truth in the Law" (ii. 20). This is what Paul had to think of when writing to the Jews of Rome. Many a Jew must have honestly feared that Paul's plan for giving these advantages to the Gentiles, by loosening some of the ceremonial strictness of the Law, in order to win them into the synagogue, might weaken its moral force to the Jew, and that thus his plan might lead to the Jew's injury, while meant for the Gentile's benefit. Hence Paul was careful to say that he meant not to make the Law void, but to establish it (iii. 31).

We notice as a peculiarity in Paul's style his using

words a second time in following sentences, as in xv. 4, "We through patience and comfort, &c.; and may the God of patience and comfort, &c." This may be compared to the fondness for assonance which appears in the Hebrew Scriptures. A classical Greek would think it in bad taste and avoid it, as the English Authorized Version does.

We may safely assume that this Epistle contains a summary of the arguments which Paul had used when preaching in the various synagogues. Since Timothy does not appear to have been the penman of this Epistle, as in most cases, but yet is joined with Lucius in the greetings at the close, we may suppose that the Epistle was begun before Timothy and Silas reached Corinth. Such a carefully written Epistle may have been the work of weeks or even months.

At Corinth Paul met with Aquilas and his wife Priscilla, who had lately arrived from Italy, because the Emperor Claudius had ordered all the Jews to depart from Rome. This was in A.D. 52; and the Epistle to the Romans must have been written before he knew that the Jews had left that city; and it is possible that it may never have been sent. But it was not wasted; it was circulated among the churches, as it is to this day. Paul then abode with Aquilas and Priscilla, and worked with them in their trade as tent-makers. He preached in the synagogue every Sabbath as long as he was allowed; and when the opposition was too strong for him, he withdrew with such disciples as he had made; and they met for worship in the house of Justus, which was next to the synagogue. Crispus and Sosthenes, two rulers of the synagogue, were among those who followed Paul and joined the Gentile converts.

As soon as the disciples found it necessary to have a place of their own in which to meet for worship, they probably found it convenient to appoint a day of their own, so as not to draw away from the synagogue on a Sabbath those of them who were Jews; and that the first day of the week was then chosen for that purpose appears probable from Paul's advising the Corinthians

three years later to lay by on that day for the poor of Jerusalem (1 Cor. xvi. 2).

At that time Annæus Gallio was proconsul of Achaia, and he dwelt at Corinth, the capital of the province; and when the quarrel of the Jews against Paul rose to violence, they brought him before Gallio's judgment-seat under a charge of persuading men to worship contrary to the laws of the land. His real offence was attacking the Mosaic Law; and they charged him with attacking Paganism. But Gallio was an enlightened man, the brother of Annæus Seneca, the Roman philosopher, who was a strict monotheist; and Gallio would not help the Jews to persecute Paul, but at the same time he did not protect Paul's friends from being ill-treated. Jews and Greeks, each holding to the religion of their fathers, made common cause against Paul; and Gallio of course could give no countenance to anything which went to disturb the religion of the State.

THE JOURNEY CONTINUED TO JERUSALEM AND THEN
TO ANTIOCH (Acts xviii. 18-22).

Paul tarried yet some time at Corinth, and then sailed from Cenchreæ, the eastern port of that city, but first shaving his head on the completion of a vow. His friends Aquilas and Priscilla went with him. The vessel took them to Ephesus. There they went on shore, and Paul reasoned with the Jews in the synagogue. They wished him to stay longer; but he wished to keep the coming feast in Jerusalem, and so he sailed away, probably in the vessel which brought him there. He left behind him in Ephesus his friends Aquilas and Priscilla, and, as we afterwards learn, the writer of Acts.

Sailing away from Ephesus Paul arrived at Cæsarea. There he landed, and went up to Jerusalem, paying his fourth visit to that city since his conversion, and no doubt making his offering to the Temple on the completion of the vow mentioned above. The pious Jew, *when living at a distance from Jerusalem, thought it a religious duty to go up, as often as he conveniently*

could, to make his offering to the temple. Since Paul had left Jerusalem, on his errand to persecute the Christians, he had paid his first visit to the capital, after three years' absence; his second visit was after two years; his third after two years; each time performing a religious duty while taken there by business; but this time it was after five years' absence. We must fear that he did not find many warm friends in Jerusalem; but while there he saluted the Church, and then returned to Antioch.

The religious festival at which Paul wished to be present at Jerusalem was no doubt the Pentecost, or Feast of Weeks, which was celebrated seven weeks after the Passover. It was the only one of the three great feasts that he could conveniently attend, moving about as he did by sea. Travelling by the little coasting vessels was very much limited to the six summer months. Hence sailing from Corinth, and stopping at Ephesus by the way, he could not have reached Judea in time for the Passover at the spring equinox; nor could he conveniently have returned immediately to Antioch, if he had been present at the Feast of Tabernacles, soon after the autumnal equinox. We shall hereafter see that when he again sailed for Judea, it was with a wish to be present at the Feast of Pentecost (Acts xx. 16).

PAUL'S THIRD MISSIONARY JOURNEY (Acts xviii. 23),
TO EPHESUS (Acts xix.).

After spending some time at Antioch, probably the winter months, Paul left that city for a third missionary journey. He went through the country of Galatia and Phrygia, strengthening the Churches which he had made there on his former visit. We may suppose that Timothy and Titus were both with him; but we have no particulars of him until he arrived at Ephesus (Acts xix. 1).

At Ephesus Paul was again joined by the writer of Acts, and he then learned what had happened there during the past year. A certain Jew, named Apollos, an Alexandrian by birth, a learned man, mighty in the

Scriptures, had come to Ephesus, and had preached in the synagogue, with nearly the same religious views as Paul, but understanding only the baptism of John. When Aquilas and Priscilla heard him, they taught him more perfectly the way of God, and he then preached boldly to the Jews, showing that Jesus was the Christ. As Apollos then wished to visit Achaia, the disciples at Ephesus gave him letters to the disciples at Corinth (Acts xviii. 24, 28). At Corinth, Apollos, by his preaching, added somewhat to the unhappy schism in the Church, for his philosophical opinions were not the same as Paul's (1 Cor. i. 12). Apollos was at Corinth when Paul reached Ephesus.

When Paul met with some of the disciples whom Apollos had gained for the Church at Ephesus, he learned from talking to them that, like Apollos himself, they had been baptized only into John's baptism of repentance. He therefore taught them that they should believe also on him who was to come after John, and they were then baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus. As these men had been Gentiles, and had rejected their Paganism for a belief in one Only God, they had been welcomed as disciples and believers, though with this limited knowledge of Christianity.

Paul preached for three months in the synagogue at Ephesus, persuading about the kingdom of God; but as the Jews were wholly opposed to his views, he had to leave the synagogue, and he removed with his disciples into the school-room of one Tyrannus, and there he continued for two years disputing and explaining the Scriptures.

About this time, in A.D. 54, the Emperor Claudius died. He was succeeded by the young Nero, whose reign began with justice and moderation, and the Jews were then relieved from much oppression, and were at liberty to return to Rome. Aquilas and Priscilla might have done so, but we never hear of their leaving Ephesus, and we shall meet with them there eight or nine years later (2 Tim. iv. 19).

At some time after Paul's Epistle to the Romans had *been written*, and before that to the Galatians was written,

the Apostle James wrote his General Epistle to the Jews in the Dispersion. This was James, the brother of Jesus; the other James, the brother of John, had been slain by Herod Agrippa I. (Acts xii. 2). We mention it here, without knowing at what exact time it was written, because it evidently refers to Paul's Epistle to the Romans, and is as evidently referred to in Paul's Epistle to the Galatians. This in some degree fixes its date.

THE EPISTLE OF JAMES.

This is a general Epistle to the twelve tribes in the Dispersion. He advises them to resist temptation; to pray to God in full faith, for every good gift comes down from the Father of the Lights; to be slow to wrath; to be doers of the word, and not hearers only (i.); as Christians, when in synagogue, not to show respect to the rich and neglect to the poor; to do good to a neighbour. Without such works of charity Faith is dead. Abraham was justified by his works; he believed God and obeyed accordingly (ii.). The tongue should be bridled, or it is an instrument of mischief. Wisdom must be shown by good behaviour (iii.). The friendship with the world is enmity with God (iv.). The rich should weep with howling for the coming griefs. They killed the Righteous One. The coming of the Lord draweth nigh. Swear not at all, neither by heaven nor by any other oath. Let your yea, be yea; your nay, nay (v.).

The saying that Abraham was justified by his works, rather than by his faith, shows that James had read the Epistle to the Romans. It is not an answer to Paul's argument, but it is an answer to those who might think Paul had set faith above works of charity. It contains no argument against Paul's plea for not requiring the Gentile disciples to come under the Mosaic Law. Nor have we any reason to think that James was opposed to Paul in that matter, although Paul classes him as head of the Judaizing party (Gal. ii.); neither his speech at the Council (Acts xv.), nor this Epistle, nor

his kinship to Jesus make it probable. In Acts xv. 1, we read of Judaizers coming to Antioch from Judea, and in Gal. ii. 12, that these men came from James, yet in neither are we told that James sent any Judaizing message.

By addressing his Epistle to the Twelve Tribes James tells us that he did not hold the modern opinion that ten of them were missing. The division of the nation into tribes lasted as long as they were the owners of the soil, but the distinction was very much dropped by those at a distance from Palestine. In the Dispersion they all passed under the name of Jews, though some, from dislike of the priesthood at Jerusalem, would say that they were not Jews but Israelites.

This Epistle, though Hebrew in thought, is in very good Greek. A considerable knowledge of astronomy is shown in i. 17, where God is called the Father of the Lights, the sun and moon; but, unlike those luminaries, he has no change of [noonday] height, or [hourly] turning shadow. The English reader may see, by its style, that the writer was a cultivated man. This is not remarkable, as he was the brother of Jesus.

There is much in this Epistle which reminds us of the Sermon on the Mount. In i. 23, we have a "hearer of the word and not a doer" blamed by means of a simile, as in Matt. vii. 24, and Luke vi. 49. In ii. 5, the poor are said to be "heirs of the kingdom," as in Matt. v. 3, and Luke vi. 20. In iii. 12, we have the thought used to explain moral acts, that every tree beareth its own fruit, as in Matt. vii. 17, and Luke vi. 44. In iv. are many commands not to judge others, as in Matt. vii. 1, and Luke vi. 37. And in v. 12, the command against swearing is that your yea should be yea, your nay, nay, as in Matt. v. 37. We thus gain a further reason for thinking that the Sayings of Jesus were already in circulation among the disciples, in addition to reasons gained from the Epistle to the Romans. We shall again speak of this Epistle when we come to Paul's Epistle to the Galatians.

About this time, after Paul's second visit to Galatia

we hear of one of the Judaizing disciples visiting the Galatian churches, and denying Paul's apostleship, and persuading the Gentile disciples to come under the Mosaic ritual (Gal. i. 9). This has no other connection with James's Epistle than that we shall have to speak of them together when we come to the Epistle to the Galatians.

At Ephesus, as before at Corinth, Paul worked for his livelihood with his own hands (Acts xx. 34). But he was also helped by the arrival of three Corinthians, Stephanas, Fortunatus, and Achaicus, who brought him a supply for his wants (1 Cor. xvi. 17), and of Gaius and Aristarchus of Thessalonica, whom we may count among his generous friends; for the Greeks were as eager to help him as the Jews were to oppose him. Apollos also came to Ephesus, travelling probably with some of these friends, and he then, for the first time, became known to Paul. From the Corinthian travellers Paul heard of the schism in the Church at Corinth, which had grown out of a difference in opinion. But this made no separation between himself and Apollos, and he begged Apollos to visit Corinth again. This Apollos promised to do, as soon as he should be at leisure (1 Cor. xvi.).

Paul then sent off Timothy and Erastus into Macedonia (Acts xix. 22). They were to visit Thessalonica (1 Thess. iii. 5), and then, if convenient, to go on to Corinth (1 Cor. iv. 17, xvi. 10), of which city Erastus was a native. Soon afterwards Paul wrote his First Epistle to the Corinthians. It was written, as we learn from its contents, after one visit to Corinth (ii. 1), after Apollos had been there (iii. 6), and had since been at Ephesus (xvi. 12), after Timothy had been sent there (iv. 17), or at least hoped to reach them (xvi. 10), after the riotous conduct of the Ephesians (xv. 32), and when Paul hoped to pay a second visit to Corinth within a few months (xvi. 5).

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

The Apostle writes as to old friends, as to those who would willingly listen to his teaching. He blames the

Corinthians for their differences; the Judaizing party called themselves followers of Cephas or Peter; the Gentile converts were followers of Paul; while others, perhaps the allegorizers of Scripture, were followers of Apollos; and a fourth party said they were followers of Christ. He tells them to trust to the foolishness of the Cross, rather than to Greek wisdom (i.). He himself preaches the wisdom of God, which had been hidden in a mystery, which if the Jews had known they would not have crucified the Lord of Glory (ii.). As they are babes in Christ he does not explain this to them (iii.). They should judge nothing before the time; when the Lord cometh, all will be made manifest. He mentions his own sufferings as a warning to them (iv.). He charges them to put away from among them a man who had been guilty of marrying his step-mother, naturally telling them to require greater strictness of morals from a disciple than from those on the outside (v.). He tells them to have no lawsuits among themselves. As to marriage, about which they had asked his opinion, he rather dissuades from it, but allows it as a protection from sin (vi., vii.). About eating meat which had been sacrificed to idols, he quotes their letter of viii. 4-6, dwelling particularly on its first words, "We know," and he reproves their conceit of superior knowledge, and warns them that by eating such meats they may mislead those who are less enlightened (viii.). He asserts his apostleship, and justifies himself and Barnabas for living on bounty while preaching as missionaries, letting us know that Peter, while so travelling, had his wife with him. He says that he conforms to the feelings of the Jews to win the Jews, and to the feelings of those who are not under the Law in order to win them (ix.). About eating food which had been sacrificed to idols, they are to eat nothing which shall give offence to others (x.). He orders the women when in synagogue to wear a veil, here called a Power. The Lord's Supper is not to be eaten for satisfying hunger. The ceremony of the supper is to be observed, but it is *not to be partaken of until a man has examined himself as to his worthiness* (xi.). About spiritual matters

each is to be useful in his own way; but above all they must love one another (xii., xiii.). If any one speaks in church in a foreign language, let it be at most by three words at a time, and then let him wait until these words have been interpreted (xiv.). He rehearses the evidence for Christ having been raised from the dead, saying that he was seen by Cephas, and by James, by the twelve, and by five hundred at once. He looks forward to the second coming of Christ, and argues from his resurrection that we also shall be raised again, but with a spiritual body, not with our animal body (xv.). He gives directions about collecting money for the poor of Jerusalem, and proposes to come to Corinth soon after passing through Macedonia. He thanks the Corinthians for the supplies sent to him, and he sends the greetings of Aquilas and Priscilla and the church in their house (xvi.).

At the head of this Epistle Paul joins Sosthenes with himself as greeting the Church at Corinth. Sosthenes probably held the pen for him. He had been a ruler of the synagogue at Corinth (Acts xviii. 17). We are not told what were the peculiar opinions of those who said that they were "of Christ" (i. 12); but that they continued for some little time to form a party in the Corinthian Church appears from 2 Cor. x. 7.

In i. 20, Paul, after quoting from Isaiah xxix. 14, "I will destroy the wisdom of the wise," happily borrows an expression from Is. xxxiii. 18. The Hebrew prophet, after the return from the Captivity, when the Babylonian conqueror's hated tribute collectors were no longer to be seen in the land, asks exultingly, "Where is the scribe? Where is the weigher? Where is he that counted the towers?" So Paul, believing that Pagan philosophy has been driven off the field by Christianity, asks, "Where is the wise? Where the scribe? Where the disputer of this age?"

The second coming of Christ to earth, which is here promised (xv. 23), is again spoken of, and at greater length, in the two Epistles to the Thessalonians, and *again more slightly* in 2 Tim. iv. 1.

Throughout the Epistle Paul shows that he is troubled by the conceit of the Corinthians, in claiming to be possessed of superior wisdom. Some thought that the preaching of the cross was foolishness (i. 18). He advises such to become foolish in order that they may be wise (iii. 18). He says ironically, "We are fools for Christ's sake, but ye are wise" (iv. 10). In answering their words, "We know," &c., he says, "There is not in all men this knowledge" (viii. 7). Paul uses the word *Gnosis*, or *knowledge*, five times in the short eighth chapter, and always as it would seem ironically, letting us see that it was coming into use with a special meaning, which is fully shown when rendered as "Gnosticism," in 1 Tim. vi. 20. Such men had hardly yet formed a sect apart, bearing the name of Gnostics, or *possessors of knowledge*; but we have here the seeds of the new sect, which before Paul's death is to be the cause of much trouble within the Christian churches, and then to separate and form churches of its own.

It is of the first importance towards understanding the Apostolic writings, to note that this profession of *Gnosis*, or superior *knowledge*, had shown itself thus early among the Gentile Christians. The fanciful and mischievous opinions, of which this word afterwards became the badge, came from Egypt through Alexandria. The special use of the word *Gnosis* is here seen first in Corinth; we shall afterwards find some of the peculiar opinions of the Gnostics in Ephesus and other Churches of Asia; hence, as we find them following the route of Apollos from Alexandria to Corinth, and to Ephesus, we are naturally led to think that possibly he may have introduced them. But if he did so, it was probably not in the mischievous form which Gnosticism bears at a later time.

We note elsewhere as a Hebraism Paul's use of the Greek Aorist, or the historian's indefinite past tense, for the preterperfect; and therefore in v. 9, and ix. 15, we may safely read, "I have written," as relating to the matter in this Epistle, rather than "I wrote." We need not suppose from v. 9, that he is speaking of a former Epistle which we do not now possess, although in

2 Cor. ii. 3, 4 and 9 we read the same Greek word as "I wrote."

Every Greek city of a size like that of Ephesus, had its Stadium or race-course, and its Palæstra or wrestling-place, in which the citizens were amused on their holidays by the sight of games of various sorts. In ix. 24, Paul speaks of the races, the wrestling, and the boxing-matches, of the temperance of the wrestlers, of the unskilful boxers beating the air, and of the crown with which the successful are rewarded. Paul had probably been looking at these games at Ephesus before writing this Epistle, and he makes use of them as an illustration for his argument, as he makes use of the armour of the Roman legionaries when he writes to the Ephesians from the Pretorian camp in Rome.

We cannot but think that it shows a want of friendliness in Paul towards Peter, that here, as often elsewhere, he calls him by his Hebrew name Cephas. He would himself have been displeased at being called Saul.

There are three passages in this Epistle which make it probable that writings, containing the Sayings of Jesus, were already in circulation among the Corinthians. Thus, in vi. 2, Paul says, "Know ye not that the saints shall judge the world, that we shall judge angels?" meaning those who have risen after death. He here seems to refer to words which we now find in Matt. xix. 28, where Jesus says that his Apostles "will sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel." When, in vii. 10, Paul says, "Unto the married I command, yet not I, but the Lord," he may be quoting words which we find in Matt. xix. 9. When, in xiii. 2, he says, "Though I have all faith, so that I could remove mountains," he may be referring to words which we now have in Matt. xvii. 20. In the First Epistle to the Thessalonians we shall see further reasons for thinking that the Sayings of Jesus were already in the hands of the disciples; and in the Epistle to the Romans we saw some fainter reasons for thinking that Paul had read them yet earlier.

Yet further, the evidence which he quotes in xv. 5, 6, *for Jesus having been seen after his resurrection, is what*

we now find embodied in Luke xxiv., when we remember that Cleopas is another name for James. Here Paul says that the risen Jesus was first seen by Cephas; but in Luke we are only told that Peter saw the tomb empty, not that he saw Jesus. When he says, in xv. 4, that Jesus "was raised on the third day, according to the Scriptures," he means, "as foretold in the Hebrew Scriptures," not "as related in the Christian Scriptures;" for the Christian writings had not yet gained a name to be so quoted.

Timothy we have seen had been sent to Macedonia (Acts xix. 22), but with a doubt whether he would reach Corinth (1 Cor. xvi. 10). In the meantime unpleasant news had arrived from Corinth; and Paul sent off Titus to that city, with a letter of blame to the Corinthian Church, and with directions to return immediately. He must also have fixed the route by which Titus should return, as he proposed to meet him on the journey back (2 Cor. ii. 13).

The Epistle of blame which Titus carried to the Church at Corinth, was not meant to be published, and it has not been preserved. In his next public Epistle Paul is careful not to let it appear what the moral fault was; he speaks of it only in guarded terms. A certain person had caused grief (2 Cor. ii. 5). He had in some way seriously wronged one of the brethren, and it would seem that the Church had not taken proper notice of it. Hence Paul writes to blame the Church, not for the sake of him that did the wrong, nor for the sake of him that was wronged, but for their sake who had been willing to overlook it (2 Cor. vii. 8-12). In order to complete the account of this matter, it is as well here to add that the Corinthians, on receiving Paul's Epistle, passed a censure against the offender, which was carried by a vote of the majority, and with this Paul was satisfied (2 Cor. ii. 6).

Paul's preaching at Ephesus made no small stir among the craftsmen who lived by making idolatrous objects for the Pagan worship. In particular the makers of shrines of Diana, or small silver models of the famed temple in that city, rose against him, and

made a riot, complaining that by bringing their shrines into contempt he was taking away their livelihood. The citizens then met together in the theatre in a riotous assembly, and dragged in the two Macedonians, Gaius and Aristarchus, Paul's fellow-travellers. Paul would also have entered the theatre, but his friends would not allow him to adventure himself there. Here, as at Corinth, Jews and Pagans made common cause against him; the Jews hated him because of his weakening the authority of the Mosaic Law, and the Pagans for his disturbing the religion of the State. The town clerk did what he could to quiet the people, fearing the rulers of the city would be blamed by the Romans for the uproar. At this time such of the Romans as were in offices of authority had very little of superstitious reverence for their religion; but it was part of their state-craft to uphold Paganism as serviceable to order, and the town clerk was anxious that the assembly should break up quietly. But the disturbance had been such that Paul found it necessary to leave the city.

THE JOURNEY TO GREECE (Acts xx. 1-3).

On Paul's leaving Ephesus, to continue his journey towards Corinth, we again lose the historian; he is left behind in Ephesus, and we only have the Epistles to guide us. Paul had told the Corinthians that he meant to visit them after passing through Macedonia (1 Cor. xvi. 5). But the news which had reached him from Corinth, which very much displeased him, had made him change his plans. He had sent off Titus to Corinth with instructions as to healing the troubles in the Church there; and he now proposed, if the news which he should receive by Titus allowed him, to sail the shortest way to Corinth, and from Corinth to go to Macedonia, then to return again to Corinth, and then from Cenchreæ to sail to Judea (2 Cor. i. 16).

He therefore went first to Troas, hoping there to meet Titus; and he was much disappointed at his not arriving. He could not go to Corinth until he had seen Titus, as he determined not to go there in *displeasure* (2 Cor. i. 23). His plans therefore were

again changed ; and from Troas he sailed for Macedonia, of course to Philippi, and from thence he went to Greece (Acts xx. 2).

At this time the northern portion of the Peloponnesus had been made into a Roman province under the name of Achaia ; and when Paul visited Greece we need not understand him as going to Achaia, or entering Corinth. This will explain the seemingly contradictory words when he afterwards says that he has only visited the Corinthians once, yet he is willing to come to them a third time. A second visit to them would be a third journey to their neighbourhood. Thus it is probable that Paul, after sailing from Macedonia, landed at Athens.

There, or in some part of Greece, he waited three months, not finding himself altogether free in consequence of the plots of the Jews against him. That he did not then try to reach Corinth, we learn from 2 Cor. i. 23, where he says that it was to spare the Corinthians that he did not come to them, not that he was hindered by others. Who was with him we do not know, but certainly not Silas, nor Titus, nor Timothy. From Greece he wished to sail for Syria ; but probably was unable to reach Cenchreæ, from which port the vessels sailed for Ephesus, but he sent the Epistle by a deaconess of the Church of Cenchreæ.

THE FRAGMENTS TO EPHESUS (Romans xii.—xv. 7, and xvi. 1–20).

It was during this stay in Greece that we venture to think that Paul wrote a lost Epistle to Ephesus, of which we possess only two fragments, which have been joined to the Epistle to the Romans, namely, chapters xii.—xv. 7, and xvi. 1–20. The reason for thinking that the latter of these fragments was written to Ephesus, is that it contains greetings sent to Aquilas and Priscilla, and the Church in their house ; and to Epinetus the first fruits of Asia, not of Achaia, as in the Authorized Version ; and Ephesus is the only city in *which we can believe* Paul had so many fellow-workers *and fellow-sufferers* with himself in the cause of Christ,

some of whom had been converted before he had. When he says, "The God of Peace will bruise Satan under your feet speedily," by Satan he means the Jews, who had opposed him at Ephesus, and who were at that very time plotting against him in Greece. In 1 Thess. ii. 18, he in the same way calls the opposing Jews by that name. That this Fragment was written not far from Cenchreæ on the isthmus of Corinth is probable, as it was sent off by a deaconess of the Church at that port, from which the Greek vessels sailed for Asia; and on no other occasion but this was Paul in the neighbourhood of Cenchreæ, since Aquilas and Priscilla were there with him.

The reasons for separating the first of these two fragments from the Epistle to the Romans are not so strong; nor is its separation of equal importance to our argument. But it has been seen that in writing to the Romans Paul writes as to Jewish strangers, with whom he reasons out of the Law as with equals. In this fragment, on the other hand, he writes as to friends, as to pupils to whom he speaks with authority. He charges them when ill-treated not to avenge themselves, to be obedient to the rulers, and not to despise those who have scruples of conscience as to meats or as to days. No food is unclean in itself; "but it is good neither to eat flesh nor to drink wine whereby thy brother stumbleth." "We that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak." In these words he is not writing to Jews, but to Gentile converts, such as had followed him into the school-room of Tyrannus at Ephesus.

PAUL AT PHILIPPI (Acts xx. 3-6).

On leaving Greece in disappointment Paul, against his will, sailed to Macedonia; and we may suppose that the coasting vessel which carried him touched in the neighbourhood of Beræa, as he arrived at Philippi accompanied by Sopatrus of that city. Paul may have even visited Beræa on this journey (2 Cor. vii. 5). We know that he was hindered by his fear of the Jews from visiting Thessalonica, both when going to Greece

and when returning from it; but as Aristarchus and Secundus of that city accompanied him to Philippi, he had evidently been in that neighbourhood. In 1 Thess. ii. 18, he speaks of these two lost opportunities of visiting Thessalonica, and to the Jews who hindered him he again gives the name of Satan.

At Philippi Paul probably wrote four of his Epistles; and their contents tell us that his views as to his missionary work were not a little changed since he started from Antioch on his first missionary journey. He had set out with the belief that he should be best able to influence the Gentiles through the Jews. It was natural that he should think so, as he was himself a Jew; and the Christianity to which he invited the Gentiles was a form of Judaism. He held that while the Jews were to be justified in the sight of God by their faith, the Gentiles were to be justified by means of the Jews' faith (Romans iii. 30). Hence his aim on behalf of the Gentiles was to persuade the Jews to welcome them into their fellowship without requiring them to come under the ceremonies of the Mosaic Law. With this end in view he first preached among the Jews of Damascus; but unsuccessfully, for they looked upon him as an apostate from their faith, and he was obliged to leave the city to save his life (Acts ix. 23). In the same way, when he preached among the Jews at Antioch in Pisidia, he was driven out of the neighbourhood (Acts xiii. 50). The same result followed his preaching at Iconium; he had to flee to avoid being stoned (Acts xiv. 6). Again, at Thessalonica and Berea he was driven away by the Jews (Acts xvii.). At Corinth he preached in the synagogue until he was driven to assemble his disciples in a school-room apart, and there also the Jews rose up against him (Acts xviii.). At Ephesus the same happened; he preached in the synagogue until the Jews turned him out (Acts xix. 9). Lastly, on this journey to Greece he was driven by the plots of the Jews against him to change his route; and we can little wonder if henceforth he turned away from *the synagogue* disappointed, and for the future made *his first aim* to be the winning the Gentiles to his views

of religion, hoping to bring such Jews as he could to join his Gentile converts, rather than to get the Jewish converts to receive the Gentiles.

Such appears to have been the Apostle's aim henceforth, if we may judge from the Epistles written after this unsuccessful visit to Greece. This view, however, of his change of purpose is not accepted by those critics who place the Epistle to the Thessalonians earlier, and the Epistles to the Romans later, than they are here placed; and hence arises the great importance of the minute criticism by which the Epistles are dated.

Paul had not been long in Philippi before Titus arrived from Corinth, bringing satisfactory news of the Corinthian Church, and of their obedience to the Epistle which he had sent by Titus. They had censured a certain wrong-doer by vote of the majority. This led to Paul's writing his Second public Epistle to that Church. This was written "above fourteen years" from his conversion (xii. 2); after Paul had visited them once, and when he had not visited them a second time, though he had intended to do so (i. 23); but after he had been near to Corinth a second time, and when he was willing to come a third time (xii. 14). Thus it was written after this journey to Greece; and we know of no later time when it could have been written than during this stay at Philippi.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE CORINTHIANS.

Paul mentions the troubles which had befallen him in Asia [in Ephesus, Acts xix.]. He had meant to visit them twice lately, going to Corinth before going to Macedonia; and it was to spare them that he did not come (i.). On reaching Troas he was disappointed at not meeting Titus, and he then went to Macedonia (ii.). He needs no recommendation to them as some do. He will use great plainness of speech, the Israelites are blind; when reading the Law the veil yet lies on their hearts, while we are all of unveiled face (iii.). Though persecuted on all sides, he is not discouraged (iv.). *Though he once acknowledged a Christ after the flesh*

[a temporal Messiah], he acknowledges such no longer (v.). He tells them not to be yoked with unbelievers (vi.). On coming into Macedonia [perhaps at Beræa], he was troubled on every side; without were fightings and within fears. But when Titus came, he was comforted by hearing of their repentance and obedience to his letter (vii.). He gives directions about the bounty which they are collecting for Jerusalem; and he is sending back Titus to finish the good work, and with him he has sent the brother whose praise is in all the Churches (viii., ix.). To a certain person who boasted that he was "of Christ," as against Paul, and was unwilling to obey, who thought Paul powerful only in his letters, he promises to be equally powerful when he comes (x.). He warns them against another teacher, who is coming to them [probably one of the Apostles]. He is not behind the very best of the Apostles, and he boasts that when preaching to them he had done so without payment; his friends in Macedonia had supplied his wants. He is as much a minister of Christ as the others, and he recounts his sufferings to prove it (xi.). He speaks of having had a vision in heaven above fourteen years ago [meaning on his conversion]. He is ready to come to them a third time (xii.).

That there had been a party in the Corinthian Church who claimed to be independent of Paul, and said that they were "of Christ," appears, from comparing 1 Cor. i. 12 with 2 Cor. x. 7. What particular opinions they held does not appear.

Titus, who had hitherto been only an attendant on Paul, and had been to Corinth only as a messenger, is now sent back, not merely as the bearer of this Epistle, but also on the more important errand of receiving the bounty which they are collecting for Jerusalem. For this office of trust Paul also joined with Titus a "brother, whose praise is in all the churches;" and as Sopatrus, or Sosipatrus, of Beræa, had accompanied Paul only "as far as the borders of Asia," we conjecture that he now went with Titus, and had that honourable name. He *was probably a man of wealth, and one of Paul's generous*

friends; such a man was naturally chosen to be the bearer of the bounty from Corinth.

Among those who joined Paul at Philippi were Tychicus and Trophimus, from Asia, and, as we judge from the narrative, the Writer of Acts, whom we last met with at Ephesus; and also Timothy, whom Paul had sent forward from Ephesus to Macedonia, and had probably been at Thessalonica among other places. That the Writer of Acts came after the Second Epistle to the Corinthians was written, and before those to the Thessalonians, we judge from finding the name of Silvanus joined to Paul's in the latter Epistles, but not in the former.

The First Epistle to the Thessalonians was written after Paul had been driven out of their city by the Jews, after he had been twice disappointed at not being able to visit them again (ii. 18); after he had twice sent Timothy to them, once to establish them (iii. 2 and Acts xvii. 14), and once to inquire after them (iii. 5 and Acts xix. 22), and after Timothy had lately come from them (iii. 6 and Acts xx. 4).

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

Paul praises them for being a pattern to all Macedonia and Achaia; in every place their faith is sounded forth; they have turned from idols to the living God (i.). He reminds them of what he had suffered from the Jews, who had both killed the Lord Jesus and the prophets, and are forbidding him from speaking to the Gentiles. The wrath of God has come upon the Jews to the uttermost (ii.). He speaks of twice sending Timothy to them, and of Timothy's late return to him, and of his pleasure at learning that they had good remembrance of him (iii.). He exhorts them to holiness, to brotherly love, to be quiet and mind their own business, and to await the coming of the Lord from heaven, when the dead in Christ will arise, and those who are then alive will be caught up into the clouds (iv.). They have no need to know when this will be, for the day of the Lord cometh as a thief in the night. He again exhorts them to be at peace among themselves, not to

return evil for evil, but to follow what is kind to all men (v.). The tone of the Epistle is wholly inconsistent with its being written from Corinth within a few weeks of the Thessalonians' conversion and of Paul's having left them, which is the date usually given to it.

This Epistle, written to Gentile converts, lets us understand that the Apostle will make little further effort to convert the Jews. The severity of his remarks upon them in ii. 15, is explained by their plots against him during his stay in Greece, which may have hindered him from preaching to the Gentiles there (ii. 16), and also, if our conjecture in page 41 is right, by his having been hindered by them from visiting Thessalonica on his return journey from Greece.

Here, as remarked on the First Epistle to the Corinthians, we have evidence that the disciples already had in their hands writings containing the Sayings of Jesus as reported in the First Gospel. When Paul says, in chap. v. 2, "You, yourselves, know perfectly that the day of the Lord cometh as a thief in the night," he tells us that his readers were familiar with words which we now find in Matt. xxiv. 43.

The Thessalonians seem to have sent an answer to this Epistle, showing that they were very much frightened at its warning them as to the second coming of Christ to earth, so much so that Paul thought it possible that they had received also some other Epistle written in his name. He, therefore, at once wrote for their comfort a second Epistle, adding a few words in his own handwriting as a token that it was his own.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO THE THESSALONIANS.

Paul praises their patience under persecution, and promises them rest when the Lord Jesus shall come from heaven with the angels of his power to punish those that know not God, and those that obey not the Good Tidings (i.). He begs them not to be troubled by any letter which they may receive as if written by *him*, saying that the day of the Lord is at hand. The *falling off* must first come, and the Man of Sin be laid

bare, who is opposing, and who sitteth down in the temple of God as if he were a God. The mystery of iniquity already worketh; only one is now hindering until he be taken out of the way. Then will the Wicked one be revealed; but he will be consumed by the breath of the Lord's mouth at his coming (ii.). He reminds them that when he was among them he was not a burden to them, and he commands every man to work in quietness (iii.).

In the Man of Sin (ii. 3) who is to be overthrown at the second coming of Christ, the Apostle probably refers to some apocryphal Jewish prophecy, perhaps to that in the Sibylline Verses, iii. lines 63-74, which were written a few years before this time, in the reign of Claudius. They describe the wicked emperor under the name of Beliar, as the personification of Heathenism, who is shortly to be destroyed. (Huidekoper's "Judaism in Rome," 2nd Ed. p. 138.) The emperor meant in this Epistle may be Nero. When, in ii. 7, Paul says, "The mystery of iniquity already worketh, only one is now hindering until he be taken away," he may perhaps mean the philosopher Annæus Seneca, who was, as yet, holding Nero in some restraint. In A.D. 55 Nero had murdered his brother Britannicus, and he was already showing himself a monster of wickedness; but he was as yet restrained by his tutor Seneca from the course of public cruelty and crime in which he afterwards rioted. This probable explanation of this passage agrees with the date which we have given to this Epistle.

We seem to have the same prophecy in John xvi., except that there the judgment against the "Prince of this world" is to be accompanied, not with the second coming of Christ, but with the coming of the Advocate or Comforter whom Jesus will send after his ascent to heaven. The time of this event is faintly marked as to follow the persecution which the disciples will receive from the Jews, who will think that they do God service in putting them to death. This is some time before Nero's persecution of the Christians.

The Epistle to the Galatians has few biographical

notices to help us in dating it. But it was written when Paul had many friends with him, whose names he does not give (i. 2); and about seventeen years from his conversion (i. 18, and ii. 1), after he had twice visited that country (iv. 13). The Galatians had been Gentiles; and it appears from the Epistle that since Paul's visits to them, some one of the Judaizing party had been visiting the Churches which Paul had formed, had told them that Paul was not one of the Apostles, and had persuaded them, that in order to become Christians, they must come under the Mosaic Law. Against this teaching Paul writes this Epistle.

As Paul's stay at Philippi at this time may easily be allowed to have been of eighteen months, that is a summer with two winters, or parts of three years, we find a sufficient agreement between the years mentioned in this Epistle and those in the Second Epistle to the Corinthians. One Epistle may have been written soon after his arrival at Philippi, "above fourteen years" since his conversion, and the other Epistle shortly before he left Philippi, within seventeen years of that event. At no time after he left Philippi shall we find an opportunity for its being written.

THE EPISTLE TO THE GALATIANS.

Paul begins by asserting his apostleship, which he had from heaven, not from the Twelve at Jerusalem. He regrets that the Churches of Galatia are being turned from the doctrines which he had taught, and wishes that he who taught otherwise, even if an angel from heaven, should be accursed. He relates the particulars of his life, to show that what he taught he did not learn from the Apostles (i.). On his second visit to Jerusalem, when he spoke "privately" to the chief Apostles, they agreed that he and Barnabas should go and preach to the Gentiles, and that Peter, James, and John, should preach to the Jews. If he then circumcised Titus, it was not done of necessity, but only because of the false brethren; to whom, however, he yielded *subjection* not for an hour. When Peter afterwards *came to Antioch*, he at first ate with the Gentiles, but

when certain persons came from James he would do so no longer; and the other Jews, including Barnabas, were so far misled as to pretend that they ought not to eat with the Gentiles (ii.). The works of the Law are of no value compared with faith; Abraham believed God, and it was counted to him for righteousness. Those who have faith, even if not Israelites, may become children of Abraham, and be blessed with him; while those who come under the Law come under a curse. Now that faith hath come, we are no longer under the Law. The Law was only a guide during our youth to lead us to Christ (iii.). He warns them against coming back to the weak and beggarly elements, and keeping days and months and years. He reminds them how they received him on his first visit when his eyes were diseased. He allegorizes the history of Abraham, saying that of the two wives, Hagar from Mount Sinai, bearing children unto bondage, was the Jerusalem of to-day [thus treating the Jews as Ishmaelites]; while we disciples are children of the free woman (iv.). He exhorts them to stand fast in the freedom to which they have been called, and not to get circumcised (v.). He exhorts to mutual kindness. He has written the Epistle with his own hand. The Jews who wish others to come under the Law, do not themselves keep the Law (vi.).

Three lines in iii. 28, seem part of a hymn describing heaven,—

“Neither is there Jew nor Greek,
Neither is there slave nor freeman,
Neither is there male and female.”

This is again quoted in Coloss. iii. 11. In iv. 18, we have an iambic line which may be part of some Greek play,—

“It is good to be zealous in a good matter.”

In the energy with which in this Epistle the Law is put aside, we can compare it only to the First to the Thessalonians; in that respect it is in strong contrast to that to the Romans, in which he argues (iii. 31), that he

is establishing the Law. He naturally expresses himself on this head more strongly to the Galatian Gentiles, who had been won to Judaism by some new teacher, than to the Roman Jews, who had been born under the Law. But in the matter of valuing Faith above the Works of the Law, this Epistle is in close agreement with that to the Romans; and indeed several of the words are so nearly the same in the two Epistles, that we may suppose that Paul had the former Epistle in his hands when he wrote this to the Galatians.

In Romans iii. 29, Paul had argued that God was God not of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles. In showing that this opinion was supported by the Scriptures, he quotes the case of Abraham, whose faith in God was counted to him for righteousness, and he was thereupon declared to be the father of many nations, or Gentiles; using the word in both senses. This was before Abraham had come under the Law, or had performed any works of the Law. Thus, though he asserts the superiority of Faith over works of the Law, that is not the chief point in his argument in the Epistle to the Romans; the chief point is that Abraham was declared to be a father of many nations before he had performed any works of the Law.

This Epistle to the Romans had no doubt been circulated widely among the Christian Churches; and we can well believe that in some places it may have been misunderstood. Some may have thought that Paul was setting Faith above Moral Works of goodness; and against such a misunderstanding the Epistle of James seems to have been written.

James very properly argues that Faith is of little worth without it is followed by Works, that is, by good moral conduct; and particularly by kindness to one's neighbour. He uses Paul's quotation from Gen. xv. 6, and says that Abraham not only believed God, but acted on his belief. It was therefore for his obedience, which followed his Faith, that his belief in God was counted to him for righteousness. The two Apostles seem to be *speaking of different matters*; Paul speaks of the little *worth of Works of the Law*, when compared with

Faith; and James of the greater value of Works of Moral Goodness, above Faith without Works.

This Epistle of James would seem to have been in Paul's hands when he wrote the Epistle to the Galatians. We need not suppose that James had been in Galatia, nor even that his Epistle had been circulated in Galatia, though that is not improbable; but what we think highly probable is, that Paul, when he heard that a teacher of the Judaizing class of disciples had been persuading the Galatian Gentiles to come under the Mosaic Law, saw in James's Epistle the arguments by which the Judaizers opposed his view about Faith, and that to these arguments he addressed himself accordingly. In Gal. iii. Paul takes up the quotation and reasoning which he had before used in Rom. iv., and thus replies to the arguments of James ii. But here he is most careful that he should not be misunderstood; he never, as sometimes in Romans, speaks against "works," he avoids the mistake by always saying "works of the Law." Moreover, here he drops the matter which in Romans was of first importance, namely, that Abraham received the promises before he came under the covenant.

The three Epistles help to explain one another; and their connection goes far to prove the early date and genuineness of James's Epistle, which critics have sometimes doubted. It shows also how the Epistles were copied and circulated among the Churches, and strengthens our remarks that the Sayings of Jesus were also in circulation at the same time.

PAUL'S FIFTH JOURNEY TO JERUSALEM (Acts xx.).

The Apostle had probably spent a year and a half at Philippi. The Philippians were among his best friends and warmest supporters in his missionary works (Phil. i. 3-7); but unfortunately the names of those generous friends have not been recorded. On leaving Philippi, Paul and his fellow-travellers seem to have hired a small vessel for themselves, which could sail or wait at their pleasure. Perhaps it was rather too small for the party; for Tychicus and Trophimus were sent forward

to wait for the rest at Troas. Paul followed shortly afterwards with the Thessalonians, Aristarchus and Secundus, and Gaius, here said to be of Derbe, and Timothy; though perhaps we should read Timothy of Derbe, and count Gaius among the Thessalonians. From the word "we," we learn that Paul was also accompanied by the Writer of Acts, and no doubt by Titus. This was after the days of Unleavened Bread, at the spring equinox. From Neapolis, the port of Philippi, they sailed to Troas, where they joined their two companions, and stayed seven days (Acts xx. 6). There on the first day of the week they met together to break bread, and Paul preached to them. They had probably kept the Sabbath as Jews. Thus by this time the custom seems to have been established, at least in the Apostle's mind, for the disciples to keep the first day of the week as the day on which they should meet together for worship. He had before advised the Corinthians to lay by for the poor of Jerusalem on the first day of the week (1 Cor. xvi. 2).

From Troas the vessel sailed to Assos with Paul's companions, while he himself walked across the promontory (Acts xx. 13). On so doing he left behind with Carpus his bag containing books and blank parchments (2 Tim. iv. 13). It was probably by a mistake that these things were not put into the ship.

From Assos they sailed to Mitylene, and from thence, passing by Ephesus, they came to Samos, to Trogyllium, a promontory on the mainland, and then to Miletus (Acts xx. 14, 15).

From Miletus Paul sent to Ephesus, a distance of twenty-five or thirty miles, for the Elders of the Church to come to him. He may not have wished to go to Ephesus, a city in which he had been so ill-treated; or we may be wrong in thinking that he had control over the vessel. For since he wished to be in Jerusalem by the feast of Pentecost, he can hardly have saved time by sailing past Ephesus, and then waiting at Miletus, while the elders were fetched to him.

When the elders from Ephesus came to him he reminded them how he had lived among them for three

years with all lowness of mind, in tears and trials, preaching to Jews and Greeks. He is now going up to Jerusalem, doubtful what will befall him there, but holding his life of no value. He thinks that they will not see him again. He charges them to feed the Church of which they are the shepherds, and says that when he was among them his own hands ministered to his wants.

We here remark a desponding tone, not unnatural after the treatment he had received from the Jews. This is very unlike the joyful, hopeful view of the future which we had seven years before in the Epistle to the Romans, when he looked forward to visiting them, and from Rome going to Spain. His fears, however, were not wholly justified; because we shall again find him at Ephesus before we lose sight of him. But he surely knew that in going up to Jerusalem he was going into the midst of enemies; and we know of nothing that could have taken him there but the wish which every religious Jew felt, to visit the Temple at reasonable intervals of time.

Sailing from Miletus by the islands of Coos and Rhodes, Paul and his friends came to Patara in Lycia; and there they left the vessel which had brought them from Macedonia, and went on board a merchant ship which was going to Phenicia (Acts xxi. 2).

In this larger vessel they no longer crept along the coast. They passed within sight of the island of Cyprus, leaving it on the left hand, and came to Tyre, where the ship unloaded part of her cargo; and this allowed them to tarry seven days with some disciples whom they found there. The ship then carried them to Ptolemais, which was the end of the voyage (Acts xxi. 7). Here the merchant ships seem to have found a better haven than at Cæsarea, the new city which Herod had built. From Ptolemais they went to Cæsarea, and from thence to Jerusalem (Acts xxi. 17). This was his fifth visit since his conversion. It was five years from his fourth visit, as that was five years from his third visit; and we thus learn that five years was as long a time as he thought should be allowed to pass between his visits to the Temple.

PAUL AT JERUSALEM (Acts xxi.-xxiii.), AND A
PRISONER AT CESAREA (Acts xxiv.-xxvi.).

At Jerusalem Paul and his companions went to James, when all the elders were present. Under their advice he went through the ceremony of purifying himself for seven days after his journey, to show that he kept the Law. He joined himself to four men of the Jerusalem Church who were also under a Nazaretic vow, and shared with them the charges of performing the vow. Then, agreeably to Numbers vi., "on the proper day" he went into the Temple-yard, and made his offering. But this compliance with the Law did not save him from the enmity of the stricter Jews. They looked upon him as an apostate. They had seen him in the city with Trophimus, who was a Greek of Ephesus, and they thought that Paul had brought him with him into the court which Jews alone might enter. They then dragged Paul out, and would have beaten him to death if a centurion with Roman soldiers had not hastily come from the castle and saved him from their violence.

The chief captain then had him bound by two chains, probably to a soldier on each side of him, and led him from the Temple-yard proper towards the castle. As they led him up the steps Paul obtained leave to speak to the angry Jews. But before he had finished what he had to say, they drowned his voice with their shouts, and he was taken into the castle (Acts xxii. 24).

The steps from which Paul spoke led from the Temple hill to an underground passage by which the castle is entered. The space over which Paul was dragged is not here called a part of the Temple, because it was the court of the Gentiles.

When Paul was brought into the castle the chief captain would have had him scourged to learn the truth from him; for such was the cruel way in which the Romans administered justice to their foreign subjects. *But Paul pleaded that he was a Roman citizen by birth, and this saved him from such treatment* How it arose

that Paul was born a Roman citizen is unknown, for it is believed that Tarsus, his birthplace, could not give such a privilege to its citizens.

The next day the captain brought Paul into the Jewish high council, that he might be examined by the high priests, and that it might be seen whether they had any just cause of complaint against him. There his explaining that he was a Pharisee, and that his crime was preaching the resurrection, divided his enemies, some of whom were Pharisees and some Sadducees. The strife between the two parties then made the captain carry Paul back into the castle to save him from being torn to pieces.

Some of the Jews then made a vow among themselves that they would contrive his death; but the chief captain, hearing of their intention, sent him off with a guard of soldiers to Cæsarea, where Felix, the Roman governor of the province, was then living. There he was kept a prisoner until his accusers should come down from Jerusalem (Acts xxiii.).

At Cæsarea Paul was put on his trial. The chief priests had hired an advocate who could plead in Greek before Felix; and Paul was heard in his own defence. Felix came to no decision; but said that at another time he would inquire further. After some days, when Felix's wife, Drusilla, was at Cæsarea, Paul was again allowed to explain his faith. He did not trouble Felix with any difficult questions which might arise out of the Mosaic Law; but he enforced the doctrine of righteousness, temperance, and a judgment to come: and Felix trembled. He had been guilty of much injustice in the government of the province; and he now left Paul in prison for two years, hoping that money would have been offered to him for Paul's release.

At the end of that time Felix was recalled from his government by the Emperor; and Porcius Festus came into the province as the new governor. This was in A.D. 60; and Felix, wishing to do the Jews a favour, left Paul in prison (Acts xxiv.). The Jews of Jerusalem then asked of Festus that Paul should be sent up to their city to be tried; and Paul, to escape from what

he knew would be his death, made use of his privilege as a Roman citizen, and appealed to the Emperor Nero, the then ruling Cæsar. Paul accordingly was kept in prison to be sent to Rome on the first opportunity.

When King Herod Agrippa II. came down to Cæsarea with his wife, Berenice, to salute Festus, Paul was again called upon to explain himself, in order that these distinguished guests might have an opportunity of hearing one so much spoken about; and Paul recounted to them the history of his being at first a persecutor, and then being converted by a vision from heaven. Festus remarked that much learning had made Paul mad, but that he might have been released if he had not appealed to Cæsar. To King Agrippa, as being a Jew, Paul quoted the prophets in support of his views; and the King seems to have been amused with thinking that Paul was endeavouring to persuade him to become a Christian (Acts xxv., xxvi.).

THE VOYAGE TO ROME (Acts xxvii.).

After a time Paul was delivered to a centurion to be taken to Rome with several other prisoners. They were put on board a merchant ship sailing to Adramyttium in Mysia, in which other persons were at liberty to take their passage. Paul's friend, Aristarchus of Thessalonica, did so, in order to comfort and support him, as did the writer of Acts. Other friends are not mentioned, but we shall meet with reasons for thinking that Titus and Trophimus were both of the party, and perhaps Tychicus. As we have no information on the matter, we may conjecture that the expense of the journey for these friends was borne by Aristarchus. The other prisoners, who were sent with Paul, were probably criminals from the army, who, being Romans by birth, all had the valuable right of appeal, which was so rare in the case of a Jew like Paul.

Paul was treated kindly by the centurion, who even allowed him to go on shore at Sidon, when the vessel touched there. At Myra, in Lycia, the centurion met *with an Alexandrian ship sailing for Italy*, and he moved

his prisoners into it. This Alexandrian ship kept to the coast of Caria as far as the promontory of Cnidus, and from thence sailed southward for the island of Crete.

Before leaving the coast of Caria, it would not have been difficult for the master of the vessel to communicate with the land; and here we may suppose that Trophimus was put on shore. We know that he was in Jerusalem when Paul was put in prison; and at a later time we are told that Paul left him at Miletus sick (2 Tim. iv. 20). Hence we suppose that he had sailed with Paul, and was here left behind.

On reaching the south side of Crete, the ship touched at Fair Havens, a port near to the city of Lasæa. The fast of the seventh month was already past, and Paul warned the pilot that there was risk in sailing in that season; some weeks after the autumnal equinox. But the place was not convenient to winter in, and they set sail, hoping to reach the port of Phenice, on the same island. Phenice was sheltered from the west winds, and there they meant to winter.

At Fair Havens Paul left Titus, as we learn from the Epistle written to him from Rome about two years later. Titus was directed to appoint elders in each city, and to set in order anything that might be wanting in the Churches. He had now been working with Paul for about fourteen years, and had before shown himself very trustworthy when sent on a similar errand to Corinth.

No sooner had the ship set sail from Fair Havens than a violent storm arose, the wind blowing from east-north-east. The sailors first lowered the sail; the next day they began to throw the cargo overboard, and on the third day they threw over the mast and the main-sail. They feared that the storm would drive them on to the coast of Africa; but they contrived to steer a little northward of the wind's path, and after being driven like a log upon the water in a straight course for fourteen days, they found, by sounding, that they were approaching land. As the storm was yet raging, and they feared to fall upon rocks, as soon as they saw a

convenient place, they hoisted the small foresail, and so ran ashore. The particulars of the navigation have been admirably explained by Smith of Jordan Hill, in his work on this interesting voyage (Acts xxvii.).

The crew and passengers reached the shore in safety after this dangerous shipwreck, and they then learnt that they were on the island of Malta. There they stayed for three months, and then sailed away in another ship which had wintered there, and they reached Puteoli in Italy, and thence went on to Rome, in the early spring of A.D. 61.

From the "Life of Josephus," by himself, it appears very probable that the Jewish historian sailed as a passenger, and was shipwrecked in the same vessel. Josephus indeed says that he was twenty-six years of age when he was shipwrecked on his voyage to Rome with some Jewish prisoners; and he thus places his shipwreck three years later than that of Paul. But we correct him by his own narrative, which says that the Jewish prisoners with whom he sailed were sent to Rome by Felix, the procurator of Judea. He says that they were excellent self-denying persons, and he calls them priests. That he does not mention Paul's name and circumstances, and that his account differs somewhat from that in Acts, may be accounted for by his writing many years afterwards, and when it was convenient for him to know nothing of the Christians.

PAUL IN ROME (Acts xxviii.).

On arriving at Rome, the prisoners were delivered to the captain of the Pretorian camp, a large walled space, measuring above a quarter of a mile on each side. There, if Paul at first was treated with any of the thoughtless disregard to his feelings with which criminals are too often treated, yet, when his character became known, he was allowed to dwell by himself, with a soldier who kept him, in his own hired house for the two years of his imprisonment. For this, and other expensive comforts, he was probably indebted to his friend Aristarchus. *There, within the Pretorian camp, he was allowed to receive all who came to him.*

It would seem that in Rome Paul found no friends that he had before known; but he called together the chief men of the Jews, to explain to them why he was there as a prisoner. They said that they had received no letters from Judea about him, nor had the brethren who had arrived spoken any harm of him; but they knew that "this sect" was everywhere spoken against, and they wished to hear from him about it. They appointed a day, and then came to his lodgings, and he expounded to them out of the Books of Moses, and out of the Prophets, about Jesus. A few were persuaded, but more disbelieved, and on their leaving him he warned them that God's gift of salvation was now sent to the Gentiles (Acts xxviii.). His thus sending to the men of his own race, and his expounding his religious views to them when asked, is no contradiction to our former remark, that before he sailed from Macedonia, after his last visit to Greece, he had already come to the sad conclusion that the attempt was hopeless to persuade the Jews to his view of religion, and to admit the Gentiles into fellowship without coming under the bondage of the Jewish ritual.

In this narrative from Acts xxviii., and, indeed, from all that we shall learn about Paul's life in Rome, we gain a full support to our proposal to put aside from the Epistle to the Romans chap. xvi. 1-20, as containing a list of friends who certainly were not living in Rome.

At Rome, and while a prisoner, Paul wrote several Epistles to the Churches which he had formed or visited. We place first that to the Ephesians, because Timothy does not seem to have been with him when it was written. He proposes to send it by Tychicus, who may have accompanied him on the voyage from Cæsarea. This may have been a General Epistle to the Churches in Asia, as in some MSS. the title "To the Ephesians" is omitted; and in Colos. iv. 16, it is spoken of as if written, or at least sent, to the Laodiceans. More than one copy of it may have been sent from Rome.

THE EPISTLE TO THE EPHESIANS.

Paul begins by saying that all things relating to Jesus Christ, and his own appointment as a teacher of Christianity, were fore-ordained by God before the foundation of the world; and that he had revealed to Paul his original purpose, which before had been unrevealed, and therefore a mystery, namely, that God had purposed in the fulness of the times to gather all things in heaven and earth under Christ, who is now sitting at the right hand of God. [This was a mystery, because the Hebrew Scriptures had been held to say that the Israelites alone are to be gathered into God's kingdom] (i.).

They had as Gentiles been walking according to the course of this world, after the desires of the flesh, aliens from the citizenship of Israel. But now that Christ has removed the middle wall of partition, they are made fellow-citizens with Israel (ii.). To Paul was the grace given to preach to the Gentiles, and to make clear to all what had been a mystery for ages, that the Gentiles are fellow-heirs with Israel (iii.). He prays that they may walk worthy of their calling, and not walk as the other Gentiles in wantonness and uncleanness, but may be renewed in their spirit and be kind to one another, as God by Christ has forgiven them (iv.). He adds much advice of a general character, as was natural in an Epistle which was to be read in several Churches. He quotes three lines from a Christian hymn:

Awake thyself, O sleeper,
and arise from among the dead,
and Christ will give thee light (v.).

He desires slaves to be obedient to their masters, and masters to treat their slaves kindly. Lastly, they should put on the whole armour of God, as they have to fight not against flesh and blood, but against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in heavenly places. It is to be sent by Tychicus (vi.).

In ii. 2, Paul says that the Gentiles had "walked according to the course [literally, the *Æon* or age] of

this world, according to the prince of the power of the air." The second half of this sentence has led critics to think that Paul is using the language of the Gnostics, and that the Æon is a spiritual but wicked being. But Paul is not likely to have borrowed any thought from the Gnostics, whom he blames in 1 Cor. viii. and 1 Tim. iv. 20. He more probably uses the word in its Rabbinical sense for "worldliness," as its Hebrew equivalent is used in Eccl. iii. 11.

The "middle wall of partition," in ii. 14, is borrowed as a figure from the wall which divided the Court of the Gentiles from the Court of the Jews on the Temple hill. This partition Jesus wished to remove morally by driving the dealers out of the Court of the Gentiles, and thus declaring it equally holy with the other Courts, as it is declared to be in Ezek. xliii. 12.

In iv. 8, we read, "He led captivity captive and gave gifts to men." Paul, no doubt, quoted Psalm lxviii. 18, from memory. The Hebrew and the Greek LXX. both have "didst take gifts in men;" meaning that the Temple received some of the captives as its share of the booty. The Authorized Version here alters the Psalm to make it agree with the Epistle, as we have shown that the MSS. of the Greek LXX. have been altered to agree with Romans iii. 10-18.

In iv. 9, Paul argues from this Psalm that as Christ ascended into the heavens, so he descended into the lowest parts of the earth, meaning perhaps into the grave; it is hardly necessary to suppose Paul's meaning to be that he went to preach to the spirits in hell, as is said in 1 Peter iii. 19.

In vi. 12, he says that "our wrestling is not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of this darkness, against spiritual wickedness in heavenly places." These words may be compared with "the prince of the power of the air" (ii. 2), and also with Isaiah xxiv. 21, "Jehovah will punish the host of the High Ones that are on high, and the kings of the earth that are upon earth." Both writers seem to be speaking of a class of evil spirits.

From the figures of speech, with which the Apostle

in his earnestness adds strength to his words, we learn what objects were at this time mostly before his eyes; we might almost guess that he was living in a camp, and watching during his enforced idleness the Roman legionaries in their daily drill, wrestling with one another, or racing while encumbered with their heavy armour. Their whole clothing is described. The disciples are warned that their *wrestling* will not be against flesh and blood. They are to take up the *panoply* or *whole-armour* of God, to have their *loins girt* with truth, to put on the *breastplate* of righteousness, to have their *feet shod with a preparation* of the good tidings of peace, to take up the *shield* of faith, which will quench the *fiery darts* of the wicked one (or *red-hot bolts* from the catapult), to take the *helmet* of salvation and the *sword* of the spirit. Paul, while living in the Pretorian camp, had studied with some care the armour and weapons of the soldiers.

Paul marks his displeasure with some of the Ephesians by the limited words in which he sends his blessing "to all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity."

This carefully written religious treatise, though certainly addressed to a particular Church, has every character of a General Epistle; it contains nothing relating to any Church to which it might be sent. This may have arisen from the circumstances under which it was written. As the Epistle to the Romans was fitted for any Church whatever of Jewish disciples, so this Epistle is fitted for any Church of Gentile disciples. Every other Epistle written by Paul, except these two, contains within itself the circumstances which called it forth, the condition of the Church to which it was sent, and much advice that was meant for that particular body of Christians. This Epistle has nothing of the sort. Moreover, this Epistle has not the controversial character of those to the Romans and Galatians, and hence it may be thought to contain a more fair representation of the Apostle's opinions. We may be interested in those Epistles by seeing how he *grapples* with a logical difficulty in his wish to per-

suade the Jews to put a broader interpretation on the Mosaic Law ; but this Epistle to the Ephesians has no such special object in view, and may thus claim to be more generally useful. It was written when he probably had few interruptions, being the first of the Epistles during his imprisonment. He had few of his own friends near him, and he had not made new friends, and he was more at leisure than he was allowed to be presently, when his earnest preaching had made him more widely known within the city.

Some early Christian writers have called this the Epistle to the Laodiceans ; and it may have borne both names, if one copy of it was addressed to the Laodiceans, as is said, of some manuscripts, to have been the case.

We remark that in this Epistle Paul makes no mention of his own circumstances ; it would not have been prudent for him to do so. He possibly wrote it by the hand of a stranger, and therefore was necessarily silent about his own affairs. But he sends off Tychicus to Ephesus to let his friends know about him, saying, "Him I have sent to you for that purpose" (vi. 22), quite as much as to be the bearer of the Epistle. Moreover, it contains no greetings from friends who are with him. Perhaps his imprisonment was at first too strict to allow any friends to be with him. Aristarchus and Silas, who had accompanied him to Rome, had certainly not willingly deserted him ; although he afterwards says, "At my first defence no man stood with me, but all forsook me ; may it not be laid to their charge" (2 Tim. iv. 16). But after a time his circumstances may have been better, and strangers may have been allowed to come to him freely, as is said in Acts xxviii. 30. Aristarchus may then have lived with him within the camp, as at a later time he styles him his fellow-prisoner (Col. iv. 10).

It was probably in the second year of Paul's imprisonment that Timothy and a number of friends arrived in Rome. They may have seen Tychicus, and have heard that they should be allowed to be a comfort to the Apostle. These were Mark, Demas, Justus,

Epaphroditus, with supplies from friends at Philippi, and also Onesimus, a run-away slave from Colossæ. Tychicus may have returned with them. These, with Silas and Aristarchus, and Paul's hired house, and the messages to Churches at a distance, called for not a little expenditure of money, which was to be supplied by the zeal of friends.

When Paul first entered upon his work as a missionary he made Antioch in Syria his head-quarters, and when the Church at Antioch sent him out to Ephesus in Asia Minor, and thence to Macedonia and Achaia, they had doubtless helped him with money. But in Macedonia he found new friends so zealous in the cause that he soon ceased to look to Antioch as the base of his new movement. Ephesus, in Asia Minor, Philippi, Thessalonica, and Beræa, in Macedonia, are now the cities which send money to support Paul, and to help him in the work which he is still earnest about, though a prisoner. Thus Christianity, taking its rise in Galilee, spread among the Jews southward; but for the Gentiles it had its centre first in Antioch, and then among the Greek cities mentioned above in Asia Minor and Macedonia. The Corinthian Church, perhaps, did less to help these missionary doings.

When Paul was allowed to receive such friends as came to him in the Pretorian camp we can well believe that after a time his eloquence and earnestness brought many of the educated Romans, who understood the Greek language, to hear him preach. We have other evidence that monotheism had already spread widely in Rome as a philosophical opinion; and though the Jews were hated by their conquerors as obstinate rebels, and despised by the sceptical philosophers, yet there were some few Romans who, when rejecting the Pagan worship, were glad to meet with a more rational religion. Among these were two who deserve particular notice, Pudens and his wife Claudia, whom after a time Paul counted among his friends.

Claudia Rufina, the wife of Pudens, was born, as the poet Martial tells us, among the blue-eyed Britons, in England. Her name Claudia had no doubt been given

to her in compliment to the Roman Emperor, when she was admitted into Roman citizenship. Before her marriage she had been called Claudia Peregrina, *the foreigner*; but on her marriage she was probably adopted into the family of Rufus, the friend of Pudens, to whom Martial addresses one of the two epigrams in which he mentions her; and she was then named Claudia Rufina. Martial calls Pudens "her saintly husband," which is explained by our finding from the Second Epistle to Timothy that he and his wife were members of Paul's Christian Church. We thus have the evidence of the Roman poet to the success of Paul's preaching at Rome.

When Mark arrived in Rome with Timothy, it is the first time that we have heard of him since he sailed for Cyprus with Barnabas, perhaps thirteen years before. Church tradition, related by Eusebius, tells us that he spent a part of that time in Alexandria, founding the Church in that city.

With Timothy to hold the pen for him, Paul now wrote the Epistle to the Colossians. This is to be sent off by Tychicus, who had been the bearer of the Epistle to the Ephesians. But that this Epistle to the Colossians was not written and sent off at the early time at which we have supposed that the former was written, is known from its mention of Onesimus with Tychicus, in iv. 7, 9. Onesimus, who at this time travelled with Tychicus, was the bearer of the Epistle to Philemon, in which Paul speaks of his approaching release. Thus Tychicus must have been now sent a second time to Asia, and there cannot have been less than a year between his two journeys, first with the Epistle to the Ephesians, and then with that to the Colossians; unless we suppose that the Epistle to the Ephesians, though written before Timothy's arrival, was not sent off until the second year of the imprisonment; and this is very improbable.

THE EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS.

Paul thanks God for the hope which is laid up in heaven for the Gentiles through Christ, as the Colossians

had been taught by Epaphras. He says that all things were created through Christ and for Christ, and that God by the cross of Christ reconciled all things to himself. This is the mystery which was hidden for ages, but is now made manifest (i.). Paul had never been at Colossæ or at Laodicea, but he is anxious for them, and warns them not to be entrapped by philosophy, which is after the rudiments of the world, and not after Christ, in whom dwelleth all the fulness of the godhead in a bodily form; and to let no man judge them in respect to meats and drinks and days, or beguile them into voluntary humility and angel-worship (ii.). They have been raised with Christ, who is now sitting at the right hand of God; they should therefore think of the things above, and put away their former uncleanness (iii.). He is sending Tychicus to them, and Onesimus, who is of their city, with greetings from Aristarchus, Mark, Justus, Epaphras, Luke the beloved physician, and Demas. When the Epistle has been read, it is to be sent to Laodicea; and the Colossians are to read that which will be sent to them from Laodicea, perhaps meaning our Epistle to the Ephesians, or more probably a copy of it, now sent to Laodicea. Archippus is to look to the ministry which he has undertaken (iv.).

If a copy of the Epistle to the Ephesians was at this time made and addressed to the Laodiceans, it will explain why we find so many of its thoughts in that to the Colossians, which cannot have been written before the second year of Paul's imprisonment; and yet allow us to suppose that Paul did not wait twelve months before sending Tychicus to let his friends at Ephesus and elsewhere know about him. Other thoughts may be called for by what he had heard of the Church at Colossæ; such as the advice not to be bound by ordinances as to meats, in ii. 16, which points to the Judaizers, and that in ii. 21, which points to those who, like the Ebionites, refused all animal food. In that to the Ephesians, Tychicus was sent to make known to friends the state of Paul's affairs, while in this to the *Colossians*, according to the older MSS., he is to learn *about their affairs* (iv. 8).

Aristarchus is here called a fellow-prisoner; he very probably lived with Paul in the hired house within the Pretorian camp. Mark is described as the cousin of Barnabas, against whom they had already received a warning; but Paul coldly adds, "If he (Barnabas) come to you, receive him." Possibly his teaching partook of some of the opinions blamed above. Luke the beloved physician can be no other than Lucius of Rom. xvi. 21, or than the Writer of Acts, who there calls himself Silas. Archippus is a young man, the son of Philemon, a Christian of Colossæ. Onesimus is a slave who had run away from Philemon. He had come to Rome, possibly as a safe place of refuge, or possibly to offer his services to Paul, who had known him, and his master also, at Ephesus (2 Tim. i. 18).

In the case of a Roman with two names, as Lucius Silvanus, he usually made use of the second, and throughout the Acts Paul's friend styles himself Silas. So Timothy, when writing for Paul, styles him Silvanus. Paul, in greater intimacy, uses the prenomen, and in the Epistles written with his own hand calls him Luke. So also in this Epistle to the Colossians, Timothy, when told to style him "the beloved physician," naturally calls him Luke. When, in the Epistle to the Romans, Tertius uses the prenomen, Lucius, he took it from Paul, and may not have known his name Silvanus, or he would probably have been more ceremonious, and have used it.

From Onesimus Paul had no doubt heard particulars about Philemon's family, and that his son had devoted himself to the spread of Christianity. Paul now persuades Onesimus to return to his master, sending with him the following Epistle. Onesimus probably travelled with Tychicus, the bearer of the Epistle to Colossæ. That he was kindly received by his late master Philemon, we may suppose from the mention of him in 2 Tim. i. 18.

THE EPISTLE TO PHILEMON.

Paul greets Philemon and his wife, and Archippus their son, who now, in the language of the Pretorian camp, is called a fellow-soldier with Paul. He entreats

Philemon to receive back Onesimus, and to forgive him ; and he promises to repay to Philemon any wrong that Onesimus may have done him, writing that part of the Epistle with his own hand, to make the promise binding. Though he asks this as a favour, he might claim it as a right, since Philemon owned to him his conversion. He begs Philemon to prepare a lodging for him, as he hopes to be able to come to him soon.

This conversion of Philemon probably took place at Ephesus, where Paul had met him together with his slave Onesimus (2 Tim. i. 18) ; for Paul had never been at Colossæ (Coloss. ii. 1). Paul, we observe, had hopes of a favourable issue to his trial, and that he should soon be released from prison.

Here the Apostle calls himself " Paul the aged, and now also a prisoner." He may have so described himself through weakness, or through low spirits, or as claiming to be obeyed, rather than from the number of his years. It can hardly be more than twenty-two years since he was first known to us as " a young man named Saul," at the time of Stephen's martyrdom (Acts vii. 58). Therefore, by conjecture, we may suppose him to be now aged fifty, but naturally feeling much older in consequence of the hardships and anxieties which he had borne for the last twenty years, and which would have broken down anybody who was not largely blessed with health and strength, both of body and mind.

Epaphras or Epaphroditus, mentioned in this Epistle, had brought to Paul some welcome supplies from friends at Philippi, and he was now returning home. By him Paul sends the following letter of thanks. It was written while he was still living within the Pretorian camp, and uncertain of his fate, but hopeful of a release (i.).

THE EPISTLE TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

Paul thanks the Philippians for their bounty. His imprisonment has been the means of spreading the good Tidings through the Pretorian camp. He is still uncertain of his fate (i.). Christ humbled himself to

take the form of a slave, therefore God has set him on high. They should remain blameless until the day of Christ's coming. He means to send Timothy to them soon, and trusts that he may himself shortly follow. In the meantime he sends back Epaphroditus, their messenger (ii.). He warns them against Jewish observances, calling the ordinance on the flesh the Concision; since true circumcision is of the spirit. He might himself, if any one, boast of legal observances; but, forgetting the things behind, he strives after the prize of God's calling from above. Our citizenship is in heaven (iii.). He begs the friend to whom the Epistle is sent, his "true yoke-fellow," to help two women who it seems had a dispute; they had been fellow-workers, with him and with Clement. He thanks the Philippians for the bounty which they had before sent to him when in Thessalonica. He adds the greetings of the brethren, and chiefly of those of Cæsar's household (iv.).

In ii. 6, Paul advises humility, like that of Jesus, who, being in the form of God, thought not the being as God a thing to be seized, but emptied himself [of all property], taking the form of a slave. The common opinion is that Jesus was born of humble rank. But the son of a carpenter is not necessarily a poor man, nor an uneducated man; and this passage seems to tell us that Jesus was not born among the poor for whose benefit he worked. It may be observed Paul here uses thoughts borrowed from the beginning of Genesis: thus, that Jesus, being like Adam, made in the image of God, did not try to make himself as God, as Adam had done by eating the forbidden fruit.

The Dogs in iii. 2, are probably sensualists of some kind or other.

The Clement above mentioned is usually thought to be the person afterwards Bishop of Rome, and reputed author of two Epistles to the Corinthians, of which the genuineness is much questioned. That Paul should have had friends in the Emperor's household, receives some explanation from Josephus's Life of himself. Josephus says that he was acquainted with Aliturus, a Jew, an actor of plays in Nero's service; and through Aliturus

he became known to Poppæa, Nero's wife, and that he entreated Poppæa to procure the liberty of the Jewish prisoners with whom he had sailed to Rome. Thus Josephus must have been acquainted with Christianity, though he does not think proper to mention it. Those passages in his works, which speak of Jesus, are allowed to be spurious. Poppæa was professedly a monotheist, and her influence would naturally be used in favour of a Jew.

Paul, while his fate was still uncertain, sent off Timothy to Ephesus, to be useful to the Church in that city (2 Tim.). Mark may have gone with him, as we shall soon learn that he is absent from Rome. Paul had purposed, when he wrote the Epistle to the Philippians, that Timothy should come to Philippi soon (Phil. ii. 19), and Philippi would be on Timothy's way to Ephesus.

The next thing that we know of the Apostle is that he was released from prison. Of his trial we have no particulars. He had lived for two years in the Pretorian camp, of course paying those in authority largely for such comforts and relaxation from restraint as were allowed to him; and he was now free, and at liberty to leave Rome. Before doing so he wrote two Epistles, one to Titus and the other to Timothy.

THE EPISTLE TO TITUS.

This seems to have been written to Crete, where Paul may have dropt Titus on the voyage to Rome. He hopes to be able to send Artemas or Tychicus to him. He desires him to help forward on their journey Zenas and Apollos. He is to go to Nicopolis, where he himself has determined to winter. He gives him advice about the Church which is under his care, and directs him to avoid foolish questions about the Law, and about genealogies. By these he may have meant some part of the Gnostic doctrines of *Æons*.

Apollos seems to have been at this time in Crete. *It is the first time that we have heard of him since he was at Ephesus with Paul, about nine years before.*

From what is here said, we learn that Paul had desired Tychicus to return to Rome after carrying the Epistle to the Colossians. This would be Tychicus's third arrival in Rome. He had been sent away first with the Epistle to the Ephesians, and to let friends know by word of mouth of the Apostle's condition in Rome; then he carried the Epistle to the Colossians; and now, if he comes, he is to be sent to Titus in Crete. If Tychicus does not come, there is another messenger, Artemas, to be sent to Crete. Mark and Timothy are each expected to arrive a second time in Rome. Such is the Apostle's activity, and such the costly operations which his friends are supporting.

As Paul proposed to winter in Nicopolis, we may suppose that his route would be from Rome to Brundisium at the south-east corner of Italy, by one of the most frequented roads in Italy. From Brundisium the sea passage to Nicopolis in Epirus was only a short voyage.

The last Epistle written from Rome is that which is usually called the Second Epistle to Timothy. It was written to Ephesus, and after Titus had been directed to go to Nicopolis. Paul, though at liberty, is not yet hastening away from Rome.

THE SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

He writes to Timothy with great affection, and in full trust in his good conduct, reminding him of the piety of his mother and grandmother. He exhorts him not to be ashamed of witnessing to the Lord. He reminds him of how he was deserted by all his friends in Ephesus, among whom were Phygellus and Hermogenes, when Onesiphorus did him many services (i.). Some, as Hymenæus and Philetus, overthrew the faith of others by saying that the resurrection was already past. Foolish and unlearned questions should be avoided (ii.). He reminds Timothy of the troubles at Antioch in Pisidia, at Iconium, and at Lystra, when he first met with Timothy (Acts xvi.). In the last days *perilous times* will come, and impostors will wax worse

and worse (iii.). He has finished his course, the time of his departure from this life is at hand. He begs Timothy to come soon, and to bring Mark with him, and the bag and books which he left at Troas. Titus is gone to Dalmatia. Luke is with him. Tychicus he had sent to Ephesus [on his way to Colossæ]. Timothy should be on his guard against Alexander, who did Paul much evil. Though at his first defence all men forsook him, yet he "was delivered out of the lion's mouth." He greets Prisca and Aquilas, and Onesiphorus's family. Erastus remained at Corinth. Trophimus he left at Miletus sick. Timothy should come before the winter. Eubulus, Pudeus, Linus, and Claudia, send greeting (iv.).

Paul here, writing to Ephesus, sends greetings, not to Onesiphorus, but only to his family. To explain this we must observe that this Onesiphorus, who came to Paul in prison in Rome, and had before been useful to him in Ephesus, can be no other than Onesimus the slave, whom Paul had lately sent back to Colossæ to his master Philemon. Hence he was not living with his family at Ephesus. And, further, this will explain how Paul, who had never been at Colossæ (Col. ii. 1), should have converted Philemon of that city to Christianity (Philem. 19). It may have been at Ephesus that Paul met Philemon, where he had met his slave, and probably at the same time. From the three Epistles, Colossians, Philemon, and Second to Timothy, we glean that Philemon, a wealthy man of Colossæ, was sometimes at Ephesus. Perhaps he had a second house there for the export of agricultural produce, and that while his slave Onesimus moved with him from one city to the other, the slave's family dwelt at Ephesus. When Paul asked Philemon to prepare a lodging for him, he probably meant at Ephesus; it is not likely that he wished to go to the small and out-of-the-way town of Colossæ. The whole matter is somewhat entangled, but it is for that very reason important; as it goes far to prove that the three Epistles were all written by one writer, and very *nearly* at the same time.

The notices which this Epistle gives us of Paul's

friends are highly interesting and valuable, as showing the trustworthiness of Acts, in which they are many of them often mentioned. Hermogenes of Ephesus, who had deserted Paul, may be either the Hermas or the Hermes of Rom. xvi. 14, to whom he does not now give an affectionate diminutive name. The bag at Troas was very naturally left behind there, when the Apostle went on foot to Assos (Acts xx. 13). Tychicus had gone to Ephesus as the bearer of the Epistle to the Colossians. Dalmatia, whither Titus is gone, is a country of very uncertain limits. It may be taken to include the whole of the coast between Illyricum and the Adriatic Gulf, and thus to have reached to Nicopolis, whither Paul had sent him (Tit. iii. 12). Mark we see had been sent away on some useful errand, for he was in Rome when the Epistle to the Colossians was written, and he is now wanted in Rome again. The journey of Crescens to Galatia tells us that Paul still watched over the Churches in that country. Alexander had been active in the disturbance at Ephesus (Acts xix. 33), and seemingly against Paul. Aquilas and Priscilla, Paul had taken with him to Ephesus, when he first went there (Acts xviii. 18); they were at Ephesus during the next year, while Paul was travelling for the second time in Galatia (Acts xviii. 26); and also in the following year, when he wrote his First Epistle to the Corinthians (1 Cor. xvi. 19); and we have no reason to think that they ever went back to Rome. Erastus was chamberlain of the city of Corinth (Rom. xvi. 23). Trophimus was no doubt put on shore from the vessel in which Paul was sailing as a prisoner, when the vessel was off Cnidus in Caria (Acts xxvii. 7). Pudens and Claudia we have before spoken of in page 64. Linus was afterwards bishop of the Church in Rome.

Paul describes himself as wearing a chain, when Onesiphorus saw him. It was probably fastened to one wrist, and, if necessary, it was to be held by the soldier who kept him. But as, from his quiet behaviour, he always gained the confidence of his keepers, it is probable that it was made as little inconvenient to him as possible. When he was first seized in the Temple-yard in Jerusalem, he

was bound by two chains, each to be held by a soldier walking beside him (Acts xxi. 33). But such severity was soon relaxed. The centurion on his voyage allowed him to go on shore at Sidon, to visit his friends (Acts xxviii. 16). But, from the Roman custom, we must suppose that from the beginning of his imprisonment until his release, he always wore a chain round one wrist.

The opinion of Hymenæus and Philetus, that the resurrection was already past, was naturally displeasing to Paul, who laid so much stress on the second coming of Christ, when those who had died in Christ were to rise out of their graves, as he says in 1 Thess. iv. 16. In Matt. xxvii. 52, we read that such a rising of saints out of their graves had taken place at the time of the Crucifixion; hence, possibly, may have arisen the opinion here blamed.

We have no knowledge of the Apostle's last days in Italy. But we see by the directions which he is giving to the various friends who put themselves under the guidance of his more powerful mind, that his imprisonment had in no wise lessened his seal in the cause of religious truth, or checked his activity in spreading it abroad for the good of his fellow-creatures. His care for all the Churches still pressed upon him daily, as when he so wrote to the Corinthians (2 Cor. xi. 28). He probably now went, as he proposed, to Nicopolis on the coast of Epirus. From thence he seems to have gone to Ephesus. There he found Timothy, and there he then left him; and he then went into Macedonia (1 Tim. i. 3). There we lose sight of him, and do not know from what place his last remaining Epistle was written. It is usually called the First Epistle to Timothy. Timothy was then at Ephesus, and the Epistle may have been written at Philippi, where Paul had more friends than at any other place that he had visited.

THE FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY.

On going into Macedonia, he had passed through Ephesus, and had charged Timothy to remain there, that *he might check* "certain persons" from teaching other *doctrines*, with fables and endless genealogies. He again

warns him against Hymenæus and Alexander (i.). He gives directions about the Church, and hopes to come to him shortly (ii., iii.). As Timothy was now in the important position of overseer, or bishop, of the Ephesian Church, Paul very naturally says, "Let no one despise thy youth" (iv. 12). Timothy may have been about seventeen years of age, when Paul engaged him in his service in A.D. 47, and therefore would now be not more than thirty-four. These words about Timothy's youth may have led to this Epistle's being placed as the earlier of the two. Paul adds more advice about the Church, and then charges him to persevere in his good course until the coming of the Lord Jesus Christ, and to avoid the doctrine of opposites, taught in Gnosticism, or Knowledge falsely so called (vi.).

The Gnostic doctrine of opposites was an attempt to account for evil in this world side by side with good, by showing the analogy of heat and cold, light and darkness. It is set forth in the Wisdom of the son of Sirach (xxxiii. 14), which was written about B.C. 180; and it led to the Eastern opinion that there were two Gods, one good and one evil. The Gnostics as a sect do not come into notice until about A.D. 120; but that they were not then new is shown by their claiming to have had their origin from Simon Magus, who is reprovved by Peter in Acts viii. Their conceit of knowledge (Gnosis) is blamed ironically in 1 Cor. viii. The persons blamed in 2 Cor. ii. 17, as corrupting or retailing the word of God, and those Jews who in Tit. i. 11, are said to teach what is not right for base gain's sake, may have been of that sect. The Nicolaitanes of Rev. ii. 6, are thought to have been Gnostics. The endless genealogies against which Paul warns Timothy here, and Titus in Tit. iii. 8, are a part of the Gnostic doctrine of Æons or spiritual beings which proceeded from the Almighty. Other passages, in which the doctrine of the Gnostics seems to be pointed to, are Col. ii. 18, relating to the worship of angels, and 2 Tim. ii. 23, on foolish and unlearned questions. At this time the Gnostic Christians, though giving some trouble to the Churches of which they formed part, had not separ-

rated themselves as a distinct sect. But a few years later they seem to have retired, very much of their own accord, as we read in 1 John, ii. 19, "They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would have continued with us." They then formed churches of their own.

In iii. 15, it is Timothy, not the Church, that is to be a pillar and support of truth. See Gal. ii. 9, where the Apostles are called pillars.

When writing to the Corinthians from Ephesus, Paul had used figures of speech borrowed from the gymnastic games which he might have seen in that city; so now, while writing to Timothy, who is at Ephesus, he reminds him that gymnastics, or bodily exercises, may be profitable for a little, but godliness is profitable for all things (iv. 8).

When quoting, in iv. 1, the Spirit as saying that in the latter times there will be a falling off from the faith, with other false teaching, he may perhaps be quoting the blame spoken against the false prophets in Jerem. xxiii. He had made the same remark in 2 Tim. iii., but without quoting any authority for it.

In addition to the geographical reasons for changing the order of the two Epistles to Timothy, the tone of the Epistles supports the change. In the earlier Epistle, Paul reminds Timothy of his mother and grandmother; this would be less in place in the latter. In the earlier, he states what are the doctrinal errors of Hymenæus and Philetus; in the later, he blames Hymenæus with Alexander, without saying in what they teach wrong. In both the Epistles to Timothy, Paul shows dissatisfaction with the Church at Ephesus, where "certain persons" were teaching other doctrines. This helps to explain why he did not go to Ephesus when last time on that coast, but sent for some of the elders to meet him at Miletus. Since that time the Church at Ephesus may have become yet more Judaizing, as we know it was five years later, when the writer of the Book of Revelation, in ii. 2, praises it for that very reason.

The Epistles to Timothy and Titus are called the Pastoral Epistles; and critics have found in them rea-

sens for thinking that they could not be by Paul, or written thus early in the history of Christianity; because the writer sets forth so fully the pastoral duties, with the arrangements of the Church, its bishops, or overseers, or elders, its deacons or ministers, with the rules about widows who are to receive a maintenance. But these reasons should carry no weight, because those arrangements for a Christian Church were doubtless for the most part those already in use in the Jewish synagogue. Whenever, as in Corinth and Ephesus, Paul's friends left the synagogue to form a Church for themselves, they carried with them the experience of centuries; the old arrangements, as soon as needed, were carried into the new building, with only such few changes as were called for in consequence of their dropping the Mosaic rites; and thus began that most valuable custom among Christians of meeting together once a week to hear the Scriptures read, and to encourage one another in their duty to God and their neighbours.

The blame of the Gnostic opinions in these Epistles, and in the First Epistle of John, and the words with which the Fourth Gospel opens, have been thought to prove that they are all of a later date than Paul's lifetime. But we have seen the rise of Gnosticism clearly pointed to in 1 Cor. viii., which was written in A.D. 55; hence this argument fails, and with it falls the chief reason for giving a late date to the Fourth Gospel. Moreover, as that Gospel contains no hint of the destruction of Jerusalem, nor even of Nero's persecution, the reasoning against Gnosticism, with which it opens, may rather be held to show that Gnosticism was already troubling the Churches in the beginning of Nero's reign. In John xvi. 2, we read, "They will put you [the disciples] out of the synagogues; yea, the hour cometh that whosoever killeth you will think that he doeth God service." This is a prophecy of the sufferings which came upon Paul and his friends from the Jews, not of any persecution by the Romans, who did not think that by slaying the Christians they were doing God service. As this writer closes his prophecy of the coming persecution without mentioning the persecution under Nero,

we may suppose that he was writing before that persecution began; and we may thus quote the Fourth Gospel as evidence for Gnosticism having been known in the Churches at the time to which we give the Pastoral Epistles.

Another reason which has been offered for doubting the genuineness of the Pastoral Epistles is that they contain a sprinkling of words and expressions not used by Paul in his other Epistles. This, however, is perfectly natural. These are private letters to friends; the others were written to be circulated, and, in short, to be published. Most persons express themselves differently when writing a private letter, from when writing a book. These private letters were no doubt in Paul's own handwriting, and on frail papyrus; the Epistles to the Churches were of course on parchment, and by the hand of one skilled in book-writing; that to the Romans was by Tertius, the First to the Corinthians by Sosthenes, the others usually by Timothy, that to the Ephesians possibly by some one not a disciple, before Timothy came to Rome, and that to the Galatians alone by Paul himself.

Again, it has been argued that the early Christian writers, in their lists of Paul's Epistles, do not rank these Pastoral Epistles with the others. This is perfectly natural; nobody classes an author's private letters on the same level with his works written for publication. But their placing them in a lower rank is by no means throwing any doubt on their authenticity.

After this we lose all further trace of the Apostle in the pages of the New Testament. He had reached Rome in the spring of A.D. 61, and had lived there for two years. He may have left in the autumn of A.D. 63. In A.D. 64 there broke out in Rome a very remarkable fire, which destroyed a large part of the city. To the Jews this may have seemed the Consummation which had been determined, which was to be poured out on the Desolator (Dan. ix. 27). To the Christians it may have been the beginning of the Destruction, at the coming of *the Lord Jesus* from heaven in a flame of fire, to punish

the Gentiles who knew not God (2 Thess. i. 7). If so, the Romans took them at their word; they laid the blame of the fire upon the Christians, who were more active, and made themselves more obnoxious to the Government, than the Jews; and then began a cruel persecution against them. This may explain why we then meet with a blank in the history of Christianity for a few years, and why we are left in uncertainty about the Apostle Paul's end.

We have, however, yet two Epistles in which Paul's friends are mentioned, and which therefore almost form part of Paul's biography, the First Epistle of Peter and the Epistle to the Hebrews. We cannot add to these the Third Epistle of John, because we do not know that Gaius there mentioned is the Gaius whom Paul baptized at Corinth. The First Epistle of Peter was written from Babylon, whither Peter, and Mark, and Silas or Silvanus, had withdrawn, very probably to escape from danger during Nero's persecution of the Christians, and the war against Judæa. It was written to the Jewish disciples in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, and Bithynia. Peter may have visited some of those countries since Paul was there; probably during Paul's imprisonment at Rome. The Epistle is to be sent from Babylon by the hand of Silvanus.

THE FIRST EPISTLE OF PETER.

Peter speaks of what we must believe to be Nero's persecution as "a fiery trial which has come among them" (iv. 12). He thinks "the end of all things is at hand" (iv. 7). If Paul thought so when writing to the Thessalonians, still more natural was it to think so during Nero's cruel persecution. He speaks of Christ's preaching to the spirits in prison, during the days that his body lay in the tomb (iii. 19). He gives much valuable advice, charging them to submit themselves to those in authority (ii. 13), to be sober and watchful; for their adversary, the devil, as a roaring lion, walketh about seeking whom he may devour (v. 8). This was a figure used for the Roman emperor, or the power of

Pagan Rome; as Paul, on his release from imprisonment, says that he "was delivered out of the lion's mouth" (2 Tim. iv. 17).

In A.D. 69, in the beginning of Vespasian's reign, while Jerusalem was in its last struggles against the besieging army of Rome, the Book of Revelation was written by an unknown writer of the name of John. It only concerns our present purpose in one sentence, in which the writer, who was well acquainted with the Churches of Asia, says of the Church of Ephesus, "I know thy works, and thy labour, and thy patience, and that thou canst not bear evil men; and thou hast tried them which say they are Apostles, and are not; and hast found them false" (ii. 2). This clearly points to the Apostle Paul, to whom the Judaizing party was strongly opposed, and to whom they denied the name of Apostle. We have already seen how roughly that party treated him in Ephesus; how he passed by that city when he was in the neighbourhood on his last journey to Jerusalem; how he warns Timothy in his Epistle against the Judaizers there; and how strongly he asserts his apostleship against those who denied it, in 2 Cor. xi. 5, and Gal. i. 1.

In the next year Jerusalem was entered by the Roman army, and the destruction of the city was begun. The war lasted a year or more longer, and on the final conquest of Judea, a trifling circumstance tells us of the rank that Jewish thought and opinions then held, as the rivals of Roman power and literature. It had been usual for an emperor, when he returned home victorious, to take the name of the conquered country as his title. But neither Vespasian nor Nero ventured to take the name of Judaicus; it would have been thought that he had yielded to Jewish opinions, not that Judea had yielded to Roman arms (Dio Cass. lib. 66).

The persecution of the Christians had probably ceased at Nero's death, but the war of Rome against Judea had already begun. This brought troubles and sufferings upon the Jews, even at a distance from Judea. *These* troubles did not end till the Jewish war ended

in A.D. 72. Until then Jews and Christians lived in fear, and almost on sufferance, throughout the Roman empire.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

This Epistle was written by some unknown disciple soon after the close of the Jewish war, while Timothy was yet alive. We are here chiefly interested in remarking that it was not written by the Apostle Paul; it does not speak his opinions. It speaks of Nero's persecution and the troubles of the Jews, as happening in former days (x. 32), and says, "Here we have no continuing city" (xiii. 14), since Jerusalem had been destroyed by Titus. At the close we learn that Timothy had been in prison, and was released. As we have supposed that Timothy was about seventeen or eighteen years of age when Paul engaged him as a helper, he might be about forty-five when this Epistle was written.

That it was written by a Jewish disciple is plain from its reliance on quotations from the Scriptures; but whether it was originally written in Hebrew or in Greek seems doubtful. The words with which a quotation from the Psalms is introduced in ii. 6, seem to be those of a Gentile translator, not of a Jew, thus:—"Some one somewhere witnesseth, saying." The Hebrew original may have had the verb without a nominative case, thus: "He witnesseth, saying," meaning "The Scripture," or "The Psalmist witnesseth," to which a Gentile translator seems to have added his own very unsuitable words.

In iii. 1, Jesus is called "the Apostle and High-priest," titles which Paul nowhere gives to him. Paul had no admiration for priests. In ii. 3, Christianity is called "a salvation which had its beginning in being spoken through the Lord, and was confirmed to us by them that heard him." This could not have been said by Paul, who takes pains in Gal. i. and ii. to say that he did not have his Christianity from the Apostles, but had it direct from heaven. The writer of this Epistle calls Timothy his brother (xiii. 23); Paul calls him his "child" (2 Tim. i. 2). Many have been the guesses as to who

was the writer; he seems to belong to the Alexandrian school, to which Apollos and Barnabas of Cyprus may both have belonged. From what city he was writing, and to what city, are equally unknown; but as the writer was with Timothy, he may have been at Ephesus; and the words "They from Italy salute you," would well describe Aquilas and Priscilla, who had settled at Ephesus.

Paul's Epistles and the Acts, when woven into a whole, as in these pages, do more than support themselves from unfriendly critics, they do much to support the other New Testament writings which are connected with them. The three Epistles included in the above pages, namely, James, 1 Peter, and Hebrews, are all more or less supported by those of Paul. The Epistle of James is in argument closely connected with Romans and Galatians, and must take its place as written before Paul wrote the latter. The First of Peter, and Hebrews, are more slightly connected with Paul's writings by their biographical notices of his friends; but at least they offer no contradiction to the dates which the mention of those friends gives to them.

The Gospels cannot be considered jointly with Paul's Epistles; they relate to a different time. The history in the Gospels closes some ten years before the history in these pages begins; yet two of them receive some little light from Paul's writings. It would be a mistake to think that Paul ever quotes the Gospels. But two at least of the Gospels, those of Matthew and Luke, are composite writings, neither of them bearing the marks of being wholly by one writer, but rather each by a compiler who made use of earlier writings which he wove into his own work. An examination of these Gospels will allow us by conjecture to separate each into its separate parts, making it probable that the speeches or sayings of Jesus had existed in a separate form before they were joined to the narrative of his Life. Justin Martyr, one of the earliest Christian writers, quotes these sayings under the name of the *Logia of Jesus*.

If we now put together the several passages which we have seen referred to, or quoted in the Epistles, we seem to have portions of a book or books which were already in circulation among the disciples, such a book as was quoted by Justin. They are the following:—

Matt. v. 3 (Luke vi. 20), "Blessed in spirit are the poor, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven," in James ii. 5.

Matt. v. 17, "Think not that I am come to destroy the law and the prophets; I am come not to destroy but to fulfil," in Rom. iii. 31.

Matt. v. 34, 37, "But I say to you, Swear not at all; neither by heaven, for it is God's throne; neither by the earth, for it is a footstool for his feet. . . . But let your word be, when yea, Yea; when nay, Nay," in James v. 12.

Matt. vii. 1 (Luke vi. 37), "Judge not, that ye be not judged," in Rom. ii. 1, and James iv. 11, 12.

Matt. vii. 17 (Luke vi. 43), "Every good tree beareth good fruit, and the bad tree bad fruit," in James iii. 12.

Matt. vii. 26 (Luke vi. 49), "Every one that heareth these my words, and doeth them not, shall be likened to a foolish man," in Rom. ii. 13, and James i. 23.

Matt. xvii. 20, "If ye have faith as a grain of mustard, ye shall say to this mountain, Remove there from here, and it will be removed," in 1 Cor. xiii. 2.

Matt. xix. 9, "He that marrieth her that is put away committeth adultery," in 1 Cor. vii. 10.

Matt. xix. 28, "Ye will sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel," in 1 Cor. vi. 2, 3.

Matt. xxiv. 42, 43, "Ye know not in what hour your Lord cometh. But ye know this, that if the master of the house had known in what hour the thief cometh, he would have watched," in 1 Thess. v. 2.

Of these passages six are from the Sermon on the Mount in Matt. v., vi. and vii. The longer part of these chapters are also to be found scattered through the Gospel of Luke; and we may suppose that Luke had the same work in his hands, though he thought that the

Sermon contained words spoken, not on one occasion, but on several. Thus we have reasonable evidence that the work, which contained our six passages, contained at least all the verses of the Sermon on the Mount which are common to both those Gospels. Such was probably the work which was in the hands of Paul when he wrote to the Romans, and of James when he wrote his Epistle.

The other four passages give evidence of another collection of speeches of Jesus, which a few years later was in the hands both of Paul and of those to whom he was writing. It may have been a different work from that described above, because it was not used by Luke, as was the former. Thus from the passages referred to in the Epistles, we get a hint of two of the works which were made use of by the writers of the Gospels.

The Acts of the Apostles is a continuation of the Third Gospel, professedly and obviously by the same writer. The matter for the earlier part Luke, or Silas, for they are the same person, gathered from others, as he gathered matter for his Gospel. It may, therefore, contain inaccuracies and wrong statements, such as all compilers are liable to. It is only in the latter part of the book that the writer speaks as an eye-witness, and shows minute accuracy accordingly. For this latter portion we claim full trustworthiness, as shown by the agreement with Paul's Epistles, which is brought about by our arrangement. The Book of Acts closes with Paul's two years' imprisonment in Rome. Luke was with him during the greater part, and perhaps the whole, of that time (Colos. iv. 14, Philem. 24, and 2 Tim. iv. 10). We only once more hear of Luke, when, as Silvanus, he is at Babylon with Peter, and he is to be the bearer of Peter's First Epistle to the Churches of Asia Minor.

Of Luke himself very little is known. He was by profession a physician (Col. iv. 14). He was a Roman citizen (Acts xvi. 37). His name, whether Lucius or Silvanus, or the double name Lucius Silvanus, was Roman, and he was probably a native of Rome, who had come to Judea in some civil or military employment. *He shows a familiarity with Roman matters, mentioning*

the Emperors Tiberius and Claudius, and Nero under the names of Cæsar and Augustus ; also Claudius Lysias, the commander of the Roman troops in Jerusalem ; Felix and Porcius Festus, the governors of Judea ; and the names of the Roman legions or cohorts, as the Augustan band, the Italic band ; and that the city of Philippi had the rank of a Roman colony. He had travelled with Paul through Phrygia, Galatia, and Mysia, for upwards of five hundred miles, from Iconium to Troas, and with a true Roman disregard for those whom they called Barbarians, he does not give us the name of a single town ; but in Italy the names of Appii Forum and the Three Taverns, between Puteoli and Rome, tell us that there he is at home. That he was a Gentile convert appears from his not understanding the Law in Exod. xxii. 26, on which is founded the command in Matt. v. 40, "If any one sue thee at law and take thine under garment, give him thine outer garment also," which latter the Law protects in order that the debtor may sleep in it. As Luke (vi. 29) thought that the outer garment would go first, we must suppose that he was not a Jew. He spent two years in Judea before he sailed with Paul to Rome, and during that time he may have been writing his Gospel.

We cannot be too thankful to the writer of Acts for the help which he has given us towards understanding the writings of his friend the Apostle to the Gentiles, by enabling us to put them into order, each into its proper place in the Apostle's Life. By his supplying to us a key to the numerous little biographical notices, he has enabled us to weave the Life and the Writings into one complete whole, in which every part supports the other parts. Such is the framework for a biography that the Author believes that he has here set before the reader. The biographical notices are so numerous, and yet all fitting together so satisfactorily, that the arrangement proves itself to be correct ; and it seems to leave no place for doubt about the genuineness of any of the Epistles, or about the trustworthiness of that portion of Acts which relates to Paul, or, as the Author ventures to think, about the order in which the Epistles

should be placed. During the thirteen years which passed between Paul's writing the first and the last of his Epistles, he had been actively engaged in religious teaching and in controversy. During these busy years his opinions cannot but have changed on many matters; the earlier and the later Epistles are likely to differ in thought; and it is only after the order of the Epistles has been established by inquiries such as those followed in the foregoing pages, that the theologian can enter with confidence upon his higher office of explaining the Apostle's words.

THE END.

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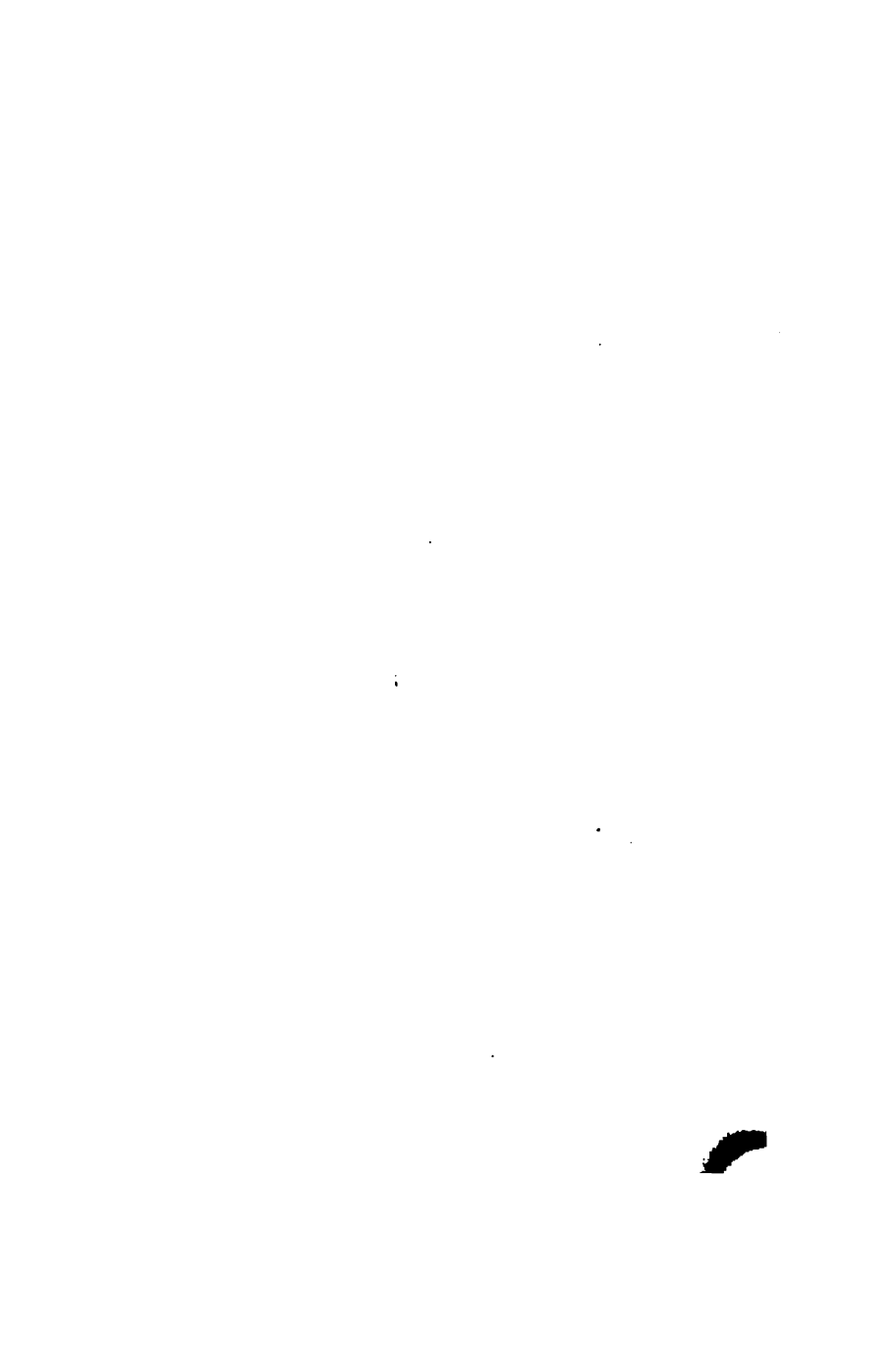
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